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The American Quarterly on the SOVIET UNION

Vol. II

July-October, 1939

No. 2-3

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Full Text of Molotov's Speech on Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact

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HARRIET MOORE, *Editor*

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EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES IN THE USSR

By

BEATRICE KING

In Russia the extra-curricular activities for school children are termed *vneskolnoe vospitanie*, literally "out-of-school upbringing." It is interesting to note that Soviet educationists never use the word *obrazovanie*—education—for all that voluntary, free, creative activity that goes on in school clubs, pioneer palaces, parks, playgrounds, technical stations, young naturalists' stations, children's theatres, etc. Beyond the nursery-infant school stage, Soviet educationists make a distinction between education as a process of learning, of acquiring academic knowledge and manual and intellectual skills, and education as a training of personality and character. The distinction they admit is somewhat arbitrary, and in reality the two processes go on simultaneously; but the exigencies of the school organization make a division necessary for practical working. As far as I have been able to discover, this practice is not based on any psychological or educational theories. These may follow, after some years of practice, as often happens in the USSR. It results from the customs of the country and the needs of a developing socialist community.

School finishes for juniors at 1:30 p.m. and for seniors at 2:30 p.m. This does not give a very long day. Yet the country urgently needs skilled workers who understand modern science and can make practical application of their theoretical knowledge. It needs workers for whom mathematics holds no terrors; workers conversant with home and foreign geography, history and politics; workers who know well at least one foreign language.

It follows from this that the school time-table, particularly in the higher classes will be full up with "knowledge subjects." Time for free and leisurely creative expression, for the development of personality through a satisfaction of the emotions will be far from sufficient in the school period. The latter is

BEATRICE KING is author of the book on Soviet education, *Changing Man*.

essential for the proper development of a Soviet citizen. Did not Lenin, and others since him, on numberless occasions repeat that a "Communist must be a fully developed citizen with an all-round highly developed personality?" As this cannot be wholly achieved in the school period, facilities must be created outside of school.

The period of poverty, the period immediately after the Revolution coincided with the heroic military period. Boys and girls could get all the thrills and emotional satisfactions from helping the armies. Later they found full expression in organizing anti-drink campaigns, literacy campaigns, cleanliness campaigns and even tooth-brush campaigns. That this period was abnormal and made abnormal demands on the children was obvious a few years later from their nervous condition and poor physique. Consequently, when the country had progressed sufficiently for most of this work to be taken over by adults, and when fulfillment of the first Five-Year Plan made concentration on quality possible, a halt was called to these adult activities of the children. As this sphere of activity was narrowed, so a sphere appropriate to their age and experience and emotional needs was provided and extended, provision being made in the school building, but after school hours, through the medium of "circles." But as no boy or girl could attend a school "circle" more than twice a week there was need for further facilities beyond the school.

As is very common in the USSR, the initiative for the required facilities for leisure occupations did not come from the government, but from the workers themselves. The Trekhgor-naia District of Moscow may be taken as a typical example of how these activities develop. When I first knew it, it was an overcrowded, sordid workers' district in which nearly all the workers were engaged in the local textile factories. In those days most of the schools were working on the two shift system and some even three shifts, so that the school building was never available for the children after school. The homes were far too crowded for the children to play in them and they naturally then played in the streets. The workers were worried that the children should have no suitable place for their leisure. The matter was discussed at the factory committees and it was

decided that every factory in the neighborhood should make a financial contribution to the organization and maintenance of a children's club. Far more difficult than the problem of finance was the problem of accommodation. Material for a new club building was at that time almost unobtainable. There was, however, in the neighborhood a church that had ceased to function as such. It took some time before the authorities agreed to hand the church over as a club. Immediately on receipt of the building the factory workers set about adapting it to its new purpose. A director and administrative staff were appointed. Much of the alteration was done by the workers themselves in their free time. Parents helped in many ways, with cloak-room duty, with general discipline. Soon after its organization the club was linked up with the Commissariat of Education, which appointed an educational advisor to the director. Very swiftly activities were organized, and when I first visited the club in 1932, it had circles for music, painting, drama, literature, dancing, photography and engineering. There was a library to which well-known authors came to discuss books with the literary circle, and there was a hall for amateur dramatics and concerts.

These, as it were, "private" efforts were obviously not comprehensive enough to include all children. It was also necessary to coordinate all the efforts to investigate and to study and improve the work that was being done. The great economic and cultural developments following the completion of the first Five-Year Plan made it possible for authorities to give the necessary attention to this out-of-school education.

So important did this work come to be regarded that the Institute for Raising Teachers' Qualifications has created an "Out-of-School Faculty." The following are the departments in which out-of-school workers can train: drama, choreography, choral work, graphic art, mass activities, avio-modeling, technical games, nature-study, excursions and tours, leadership for children's playgrounds, club supervision of out-of-school institutions, and direction of Pioneer Palaces. In each department a number of related subjects are studied. The course at present lasts a year, but it is expected to be lengthened to two very soon. Most of the work is now done in the evenings, but, as it

develops, there will be full day courses. The tuition, it goes without saying, is free, and students from distant places receive traveling grants and other aids.

Three bodies divide up between them responsibility for the out-of-school activity. All the arts—drama, music and graphic art—come under the Committee on Arts. Academic and scientific activities, museums, etc., are under the Commissariat of Education, while sports and physical culture are under the State Committee for Physical Culture.

All out-of-school activity is financed both by the central and local authorities. The funds are invariably increased by considerable contributions in money and kind from local factories, trade and professional unions, collective farms, etc. In 1937-38, 33 million rubles was the allocation for out-of-school activities in the Ukraine, for example: 8.5 million from the All-Union Budget and 24.5 million from the republic. This was greatly increased by the contributions from other sources.

There are certain features about these out-of-school activities in the USSR which it is important to notice at the start. These activities arise very directly out of the communist belief that a communist citizen must be a very highly cultured individual. The activities are, moreover, impregnated with communist ideology. The early crude propaganda has entirely disappeared, and today the political flavor is only just enough to make the meal nourishing and stimulating. All political terms and phrases which are part of Soviet life and of the speech of the people, such as "bourgeois," "capitalist," "socialist," "communist," "revolution," "imperialism," etc., are to found in use in the most natural way in all the leisure activities, rather in the way that British children employ screen language. This is apt to shock the foreign visitor, who is used to arts activities, cut off from political content of the society in which the children live, having been brought up to take that society for granted. On occasions of celebration, the children's activities have a frankly political content, just as British children have on Empire Day.

The economic development of the country, including methods of production, also cast their reflections on these activities. The

rapid displacement of the simple hand processes of industry by highly mechanized processes is reflected in the increased popularity of mechanics, engineering and invention. The country's need for highly skilled technicians, mentioned daily in the press, in no small measure influences the choice of a leisure occupation. Nowhere, however, did I come across any signs of undue pressure being brought to bear on youth to take up some activities rather than others.

Since the abolition of the school workshop with its compulsory manual work, including work at machines, there has been a remarkable drop in the number of girls expressing themselves through applied sciences. The girls who join an engineering circle, a mechanics circle, a technical invention circle are the exception. As far as I could ascertain, Soviet educationists have taken this decrease in manual activity by girls as a matter of course and no investigation is being carried on into this.¹

Central House of Arts Education

Having given this general description of the out-of-school activities, I will now deal in detail with typical institutions. To me the most interesting are the Central Houses of Arts Education, possibly because I have seen them grow and change.

The Moscow Central House for Arts Education, organized early in the thirties, was one of the most fascinating in the USSR, particularly because it was doing pioneer work. When I first knew it in 1932, it had three departments—research, training and practical work for which it had a theatre and cinema. The research covered a very wide field: one problem was how a play should be written to achieve political education while holding the spectator's interest through satisfying his emotional and intellectual needs. Another was, under what precise conditions will children draw well? It was found, for example, that certain music played during drawing lessons greatly stimulated creative expression and improved the skill. Much work was done on the response to different artistic stimuli; sound, color, light, etc. There was considerable experimentation in making musical instruments and toys. Some

1. In the days of polytechnization, girls worked side by side with boys at the bench. (See Chapter on Polytechnization in *Changing Man*.)

of the professors in the House had also taken up intelligence measuring and had elaborated a variety of tests.

In addition the cultural supervisors for schools were trained here for the direction of out-of-school activities. The training was somewhat superficial and the number who left the Central House was not large.

The general reorganization of out-of-school activities in 1936 resulted in a reorganization of the Moscow Central House of Arts Education, as well as of those in other parts of the Union. The most important change was the separation of the Theatre (the State Central Theatre for Young Spectators) from the House.

The most important work being done by the Central House for Arts Education at this juncture is the training of workers in the field of out-of-school activities. Monthly courses are held for leaders of circles, supervisors of clubs, etc. Students are sent by their regions and districts and they, in their turn, have to organize similar local courses when they return home. Every material help is given to those attending these central courses. The local authority pays the fare and makes an allowance for the expense of the stay in Moscow, and all the while they receive their usual salary. Courses are held in every branch of out-of-school activity, including lectures on psychology.

Besides these courses, the House organizes short-term conferences for leaders on the purpose of the activities and the methods of achieving this purpose. A conference on literature in out-of-school activities had very definitely come to the conclusion that to use literary circles for the object of turning out professional poets and authors was a perversion of the whole underlying idea; that the purpose of these activities was to afford a means for self-expression and to help raise the standard of appreciation. Both Russian classics and world literature were to receive more attention than had hitherto been the case.

A principle that was being developed was the interdependence of all activities and the widening of interests. For example, a choral circle was to receive some education in art, and the children in an art circle were to be taken to the theatre and to concerts. The purpose of the work in the circle was to give the

special skill and knowledge desired by a boy or girl, which it was not possible to obtain in school time. If, after three years activity, a boy or girl showed marked ability, he or she would be sent to an appropriate arts tekhnikum or institute, depending on age.

Another activity of the House is the organization of all-union festivals of children's arts. This encourages much activity all over the country on the one hand, and brings to the front young talent from remote places which might go unrecognized. There is a very great spontaneity about the work done at these festivals and they are made great national occasions.

The preparation of syllabuses for the different activities is a very important part of the work of the House. A tentative syllabus was issued for 1938-39. At the end of the year this was to be reviewed in the light of the year's experience, and then a syllabus for the different activities was to be drawn up for three years, accompanied by very detailed instruction as to how the work is to be done. This is in line with the general custom of planning. Another factor that must be taken into account is the inexperience of a great many of the workers in this field. There appears at first sight grave danger that work, whose essence should be spontaneity and variety, might become formal and stereotyped. And it may indeed do so for a time. The safeguard lies in the flexibility of Soviet life and the variety of conditions. Time and time again I have found that no matter how uniform the instructions may have been, variety has broken out. Certainly when the general standard of culture has been raised and out-of-school workers are well trained and well qualified, much more flexibility will be found in these activities.

Almost any problem which the life of youth raises is taken up by the House. A typical example was the result of the Papanin drift on the ice-floe. Quite naturally their amazing scientific journey from the Pole kindled the enthusiasm and imagination of the youngsters. In the spring of that year when the Neva began to melt and the ice broke up, parties of boys in twos and threes and fours, and sometimes lonely ones, calling themselves Papaninites, jumped on a floe in the river and settled for a drift. This not unnaturally caused considerable

commotion and concern among their elders. To satisfy this obvious need for adventure and exploration, the House organized a miniature Arctic expedition, correct in all details, not far from Moscow.

Many other are the problems with which the House is concerned, some being toys and games for children. Here again the director believes that the new should be a development of that which already exists. Much attention is paid to the organization of leisure in the courtyards for children who for some reason or another do not attend clubs or school circles, or even to supplement these. Much of this organization is done by the young people themselves, and the interest of the mothers is aroused to giving up a room for activities.

Only nineteen of these Central Houses for Arts Education now remain. Pioneer Palaces have increased very rapidly and have absorbed the Central Houses. It was considered that this absorption would prevent a duplication of the work. The advantage of this was having thousands of children on the spot to work with in their usual surroundings. In practice this has so far meant a considerable diminution in theoretical work, investigation and research. It is possible that each Pioneer House or Palace will develop this side of the work, as there is an increase in qualified workers.

A recent conference of directors of Central Houses decided that for the future Regional Houses of Arts Education for the rural areas should be organized rather than Central Houses in urban areas which were already well served by Pioneer Palaces and Houses. In the villages, where there was no Pioneer House, the work should center around the school and should be guided from the regional or even the Central House. The change in the work, particularly in the attitude of the Central Houses, is interesting and indicative of the determination to simplify the science of education, to simplify the arts, and to bring within their confines the whole of the people. The luxury of minute investigations of minute and artificial problems left over from a capitalist society was swept away. Henceforth work by the Central Houses was to be mass work. The staffs must devise means which would attract the whole of the young population, which would help the whole of the young popu-

lation in its cultural development. This has meant a disappearance of some very interesting theoretical work. The gain is, however, greater than the loss. The natural tendency to work with more attractive and responsive material, to have oases of perfection in a wilderness of imperfections has been strongly suppressed. If the peaks are not so high for the moment, the valleys are being raised to the level of plateaux.

Pioneer Houses

Perhaps the greatest direct influence on the life of youth today in the Soviet Union is contributed by the Pioneer Palaces and Pioneer Houses, the former a central organization, the latter regional and district groups. They vary in size and equipment and, to a certain extent, in methods, according to the local conditions and personnel. About 1934 Pioneer Palaces of the magnitude with which we are familiar today were organized. One of the first towns in this field was Kharkov, as the Soviet Ukraine has always been well in the front line of educational matters. It is planned that each town shall have a Pioneer Palace worthy of the name, and that districts where the population is much less dense shall have Pioneer Houses. In most of the towns new palaces have been built. In others old buildings have been adapted, until a new one can be built. This is the case in Moscow, which until it gets a building corresponding to the name of palace, is called a House. The club has forty rooms of considerable size, and a very large hall which is used as a theatre. The new club is to be many times bigger than this one.

The tendency to put youth at the helm is obvious here. The Director of the Moscow Pioneer House is a young man who was a Y.C.L. organizer of extra-curricular activities in a school and has had much experience with youth. The House has a staff of 150 which includes educationists, specialists, supervisors, leaders and service workers. The salary varies according to qualifications from 400r. per month to 2,000r., the average being 1,000r. Children join the Club, receive a membership card, and then choose their particular activity. They may come twice a week for two-hour periods. In 1938, the House had 8,000 members.

In order to attract children who do not yet avail themselves of the service of the House, there are periodic open days when no membership card is required. Any child may come, wander in and out at will, take part in some activity or be merely an observer. In 1937, on these open days there was an attendance of half a million.

While the sole responsibility for the House, its organizing efficiency, achievements, lies with the Director and his staff, there is a considerable amount of self-government for the members. There is a children's council which is concerned with the problem of discipline and offers advice and criticism on various activities. Here, as elsewhere, the problem of discipline may be said to be non-existent. The children have a natural feeling for the care of social property. There are no scribbles or dirty marks on the delightfully painted walls. The toy room is left to the children, and toys rarely get broken. When they do, there is a workshop where they can be mended. I asked about stealing. The Director replied that in the last three years there had been three cases and he strongly suspected they were all by adults.

There is close cooperation with the parents, three parents' conferences being held in a year. Individual parents come and discuss their children with the circle leaders. Educationists visit the home in any case where a child appears unadaptable or unhappy. There is a smaller committee known as the Parents Aid Committee which meets frequently and provides help in a difficulty. All supervisors and instructors in this House are qualified in their own sphere and have been trained to work with children.

The House has the following sections: a technical section which includes model making, wireless, motor, rail and city transport, photography, metal work, mechanics, and wood-work. Science includes botany, zoology, astronomy, geography, and history.

Arts include music with such subdivisions as orchestra, choral, ensembles, the latter a group which sings, dances and performs short sketches; choreography with ballet, folk dancing, rhythmic and ballroom dancing; and literature, drawing

and painting and embroidery. The theatre section consists of dramatic work by children and a professional puppet theatre.

A section for defense includes rifle shooting, naval science, communications, and anti-gas. The mass work section is very important. This covers all general mass activities, the library, reading room and lectures; Octobrists activities in their own rooms; game rooms, with table games; Pioneer activity in the Pioneer room, the training of leaders for mass activity; and excursion work. Physical culture includes light athletics, gymnastics, swimming, rowing, volley ball, football, basketball, tennis, skating and skiing.

The Young Naturalists have a piece of land where they carry on Michurin experiments of grafting and cross-breeding in plants, and selective breeding with chickens.

The aeroplane modeling section has a very large and well-equipped workshop. Similarly every other activity has its own well-equipped room or laboratory. There are a number of small music rooms for individual instruction.

The Director was emphatic that the purpose of all the activity was to afford to youth means of self-expression and of developing their personality. He was opposed to any attempt to turn the children into professionals. On the other hand work is taken seriously, whatever it is, and a good standard and the necessary background knowledge of the particular activity is expected. For example, the work in the literature circle includes, besides the reading of literature, the history of literature, its growth, development and social conditioning. In art, the history of the development of art, the work of well-known artists, Russian and foreign, a study of materials and their use, is part of the course. In spite of the fact that professionalism is frowned upon, numbers of children evince considerable talent in one direction or another. When this talent is very marked the children are sent to the appropriate special school or institute.

The Leningrad Pioneer Palace is so vast, so imposing, so luxuriously decorated and equipped, that it would require an entire article to do it justice. It is housed in the former palace of Alexander III. It has been renovated in the period, with

damask tapestries lining the walls and fine silk hangings for curtains. About the rooms stand examples of the priceless china which was there originally.

In the arts wing every room has its own color scheme. The literature rooms have been designed and executed by Palekh artists whose hands were guided not only by their natural skill but by their love of children. There is a separate wing for science activities. I was there in October when the place was humming with their activities. In the ballroom alone there must have been about 500 boys and girls dancing.

The new Kiev Pioneer Palace was being greatly extended while I was there. An entirely new wing for drama and art, with an experimental puppet theatre was nearing completion. It had its own island on the Dnieper where numerous aquatic activities are carried on. The island also has its own restaurant with kitchen. Every Pioneer Palace or House has a charming restaurant and buffets, where meals can be obtained at very cheap prices.

Children's Theatres

The children's theatres are one of the most loved forms of activity. The first one was founded in 1918 by Natalie Satz, as a means of keeping children off the streets during the dark days of civil war and intervention. All the three theatres—that of Bryantsev in Leningrad, of Natalie Satz and of the First Children's Theatre in Moscow, had to overcome almost super-human difficulties in the first years. When conditions improved, they became theatres, studios for the training of actors, and places of psychological research. Their work too has undergone some changes. The minute investigation into minute reactions which once was such a feature of the Natalie Satz Theatre has now disappeared. It was held that the theatre was not a laboratory, that the concentration of the pedagogy section on minutiae had led to an artificial, mechanical and non-dialectical approach to the theatre for children. The purpose of the educationist in the theatre today is to help the audience understand the play, to answer their questions during the intervals, to arouse further interest in the problems discussed in the play, whether they were social, political, historical or ar-

tistic. The educationist also visits the schools from which pupils come, and discusses the coordination of the theatre and the school, and the best methods of preparation for a visit. Russians hold that a play for which the young audience has been prepared beforehand will be of much greater value to the audience than one for which it is unprepared.

While on this subject let me say a word about Natalie Satz who has been removed from her work. I am not competent to judge as to whether she was politically implicated or not, but I can judge of her work. In 1934 her work seemed to me to be developing the defects of her early qualities. There was no longer any growth, there was merely over-emphasis of the early successful features. The impressionism which she employed in the early days, because materials were scarce, became an end in itself, instead of a means. Her work was over-stylized. It had lost a good deal of its simplicity. Above all things she was becoming autocratic and unresponsive to criticism. In 1936 all these faults were much more obvious. She took no notice of criticism, and did not even attend the discussions of the play after much investigation had been done to obtain the audience's views on it. This was particularly the case with the play "Seryozha Streltsov." Her repertory was poor and I saw then "The Negro and the Monkey," first put on in 1929 which at that time may have had a *raison d'être* but had none in 1936. Except for the very beautiful sets in the first act, the play was wrong from every point of view, and the attempt to use the cinema was a failure. Had Natalie Satz really grown and developed with her work, she would have taken the play off at least in 1934. It was typical of her that she did not. Her work was never as good as that of Bryantsev and Makaryev in Leningrad, but she managed to steal all the limelight. She should have been relieved of her work long before this was actually done.

The number of theatres increases rapidly. In Moscow there are five, Leningrad has three, one of which, a Regional Theatre, considers that its main work is sending companies to every part of the Leningrad region. They go into the Arctic circle, into remote new industrial settlements, and into distant collective farms. Every town of any size today has a children's

theatre. In the long summer vacation the companies from the town theatres visit collective and state farms, lumber camps, oases in Uzbekistan, etc., and there play to young and old. They find in these somewhat primitive regions that there is little difference between the taste of the adult and of youth.

The repertory of plays is very catholic. There is a definite division between the age groups of 8-12 and 13-18. For the first group the repertory consists mostly of fairy tales, Russian and foreign, and simple plays about events in Soviet life. Dramatized versions of Kipling's "Jungle Tales" are very popular. For the second group the repertory is much wider. It includes Russian and foreign classics, folk tales, and plays dealing with incidents from the revolutionary period and from modern Soviet life. In the Kiev Children's Theatre I saw a very fine production of Maeterlinck's "Blue Bird." This theatre, like that in Leningrad, was planning to produce Shakespeare for the older group, the particular play considered was "Romeo and Juliet." It is held that the theme of love between the sexes should be presented on the stage, and should be done with great simplicity, in a way to emphasize its beauty and greatness, its ennobling influence and its social implications. It is regarded as very important to help youth to realize the difference between sentiment and sentimentality. For the pre-school children there are puppet shows, the most beautiful and satisfying shows I have seen. They are the first step in the training of artistic and dramatic appreciation.

Technical Stations

The technical stations, which today are becoming increasingly important, also arose spontaneously. Like every other educational institution they set themselves the twin tasks of practical and theoretical work. As with other activities, here too there is a central Technical Station for a considerable area, which directs its activities. The Kiev Central Technical station is as typical as any. For the last ten years there had existed smaller children's technical stations and the central one was not organized until 1937. It has supervision of all out-of-school technical activities in the Ukraine, which in 1938 covered 13 regional stations and 124 district stations. The State Budget

for 1939 for the Central Technical Stations is likely to be between eighty and a hundred million rubles. In Kiev alone, there are besides this Central Station, one regional and five district stations, as well as the technical departments in the Pioneer Palace and in the eight Pioneer clubs, and still this provision is not adequate to the demands of youth.

The staff of the Station in September, 1938, included a Director and deputy, five engineers of university standing, three educationists, university-trained, and eleven technical instructors who had received a middle technical education, and who had considerable experience of practical work. Professors of great distinction come and work with the children voluntarily. All the staff is continuing its education. The basic salary is 400r. a month; however, they all write instruction leaflets, brochures, etc. for which they receive extra pay and the full salary is 900r. a month. For this they work six hours a day from 3-9 p.m. The staff invents a great many science games to encourage initiative and independence. The questions are published in the press and the answers arrive from all corners of the Republic. The Post Office is so used to this correspondence that "Technical Station, Ukraine" is sufficient address. In 1938 one series of questions received 5,000 replies.

To the Central Station come regularly two hundred youngsters from every part of the city, while the district stations work with the children in the immediate neighborhood. The school Technical Circles are also connected with the Central Station. It likewise has an immense correspondence with boys and girls from all over the Ukraine who write to the director in Russian or Yiddish, Greek or Bulgarian, Polish or German, according to their native language, as well as in Ukrainian. In five months the station received over 3,000 letters all of which were answered.

Once again the aim is not to train technicians, but to give a satisfactory opportunity for the expression of children's inventive genius, and to satisfy the urge for making things; to satisfy their curiosity and their thirst for knowledge, and their need to handle tools. Incidentally, this results in bringing forth many inventions which with or without adaptation can be fruitfully applied to industry. The work with the children in the

Central Station affords material upon which to elaborate the technique of this type of activity for the use of stations under its supervision. Its main task is giving direction to leaders and supervisors of technical circles all over the republic. The direction given is under two headings, Method and Technical Aid. The first deals with the approach to the pupil, the relations it is desirable to establish with him, and with methods of giving information. It also suggests how to utilize appropriate moments for civic training.

The second deals with designs for articles that children wish to make, and with the materials that can be used. Advice is given on whether it is worth while taking up young peoples' suggestions or to continue certain efforts begun by them. As an illustration: two children from the Chernigovsk Region sent the design for a submarine which they wanted to construct full size to the Komsomol Daily saying all their attempts had so far failed and asking for help. The Central Station replied suggesting a model and pointing out how unnecessary it was for them to build a full-sized submarine. It was apparently a common practice for children to set out on the construction of a full-size boat or engine.

The Station considers the arousing of mass interest in technical activities important. It sets out to encourage all, who carry on such activities cut off from any one else, to inform some organization of such an individual piece of work, so that the activity, besides giving individual satisfaction, has its social significance, if any, brought to light. The station also arranges courses for instructors for which there is an increasing demand.

Collaboration with schools is very important. In 1938 a special decree issued by the Commissariat of Education emphasizes the need for linking up the work in the school circles with that of the Technical Stations. The Station instructors are to take part in school conferences and meetings and to discuss not only with circle instructors but with the class teachers of the relevant subjects, such as physics, mathematics or chemistry. When a lad arrives at the Station wishing to make a particular model, the Director must find out from his teacher whether he has the requisite theoretical knowledge. The records of those who attend the Station include a report from the school. Should it happen

that the work at school is very bad, a pupil may be excluded from the Station until there is an improvement. School work is of the first importance and as life is a unified process there should be unity of behavior. It is not permissible to behave badly in one place and well in another.

Young Naturalists Stations

Quite another type of activity is carried on in the Central Station for Young Naturalists. Here chemistry, zoology, botany, social science, geology, and plant breeding are the activities. The largest station of this type is just outside Moscow on an estate of many acres. It was organized by Nechaev in 1934 when the Institute of Polytechnization of which he was Director still played an important part in education. It is one of the most fascinating of the young people's institutes in the Soviet Union. Nearly all of the work is carried on out-of-doors and such exciting problems as producing not merely new strains of fruits and vegetables but almost entirely new types are set to the young naturalists. This involves not only a knowledge of grafting but a knowledge of soils, of chemistry and biochemistry. The hero of these youngsters is Michurin the great botanist, and Lysenko, who is continuing Michurin's researches, is a close second.

Regional study is an important activity here. Parties go off for periods of one week to a month, divide into groups, each studying one aspect of the district selected. The work of the journey is completed with excellent diagrams, charts and paintings, geological, botanical and zoological collections.

The facilities offered by all these special institutions are further supplemented in two ways. First by the circles in the schools: every school now has a Pioneer leader in charge of this section of school life, the focal point of which is the Pioneer room. Here circles are planned, their achievements and shortcomings discussed. The standard of work and the kind of work done in the circles varies naturally with the school. Emphasis may be laid on one or another activity and equipment will depend partly on support from the patron factory or farm. Music circles of some kind are to be found in all schools. They are possibly the most popular. Literature, art, the sciences, lan-

guages, history, geography, invention, exploration all have their devotees. All children are definitely encouraged to get some kind of training for their work in these circles.

The other source of extra provision is the adult club. Every one of these has a children's section. In the big clubs, such as the Palace of Culture of the Stalin Automobile Works, there is a whole children's wing. For the pre-school child there is a nursery room, with all the equipment to be found in first class kindergartens. For children over eight there are science laboratories of vast size and excellent equipment, dancing rooms, music rooms, a library, and reading room sufficient in themselves to make a huge children's club.

One other institute which should receive mention is the Museum of Children's Books. Its greatest value is in rural areas. In this museum there is an exhibition of books designed to encourage a love of reading and an appreciation of literature. Travelling exhibitions are sent out over the whole Union.

There is still inclined to be too much organization in all these out-of-school activities and too rigid insistence on working from a syllabus. This is without doubt due to the fact that the work is new and workers inexperienced. There are many signs of growing freedom, where there is experience and a sufficiency of qualified workers. Although the work is too young as yet to have made a considerable addition to our knowledge of the child in out-of-school life—how best to serve its needs both individually and socially, in no other country is anything being done on a scale comparable to the USSR and educationists abroad would do well to follow the work closely.

THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE FOR TRANSCAUCASIA

By

WM. O. FIELD, JR.

Transcaucasia has since ancient times been one of the focal points of international rivalries where all the great empires with interests in Eastern Asia have played a part in the struggle for its control. The motivating reasons for this struggle have varied from century to century, as have the interests of the powers involved and the shifting bases of international economic power. To attempt to trace the international rivalries in the Caucasus is an extremely complex procedure, for the affairs of this region are very closely related to European and western Asiatic developments, particularly in the last 150 years. Although Transcaucasia was part of the Russian Empire from the early 19th century to 1917 and has been within the Soviet Union since 1920-21, it is still coveted by expansionist powers. Besides its important strategical position between Europe and Asia, it possesses in Baku one of the richest oil fields of the world, today the life-blood of a modern industrial nation. Also of international importance are its mineral resources, especially manganese.

Conditioning the whole history of Transcaucasia is the heterogeneous character of its approximately 7,000,000 inhabitants consisting mostly of Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaidzhan Tartars. Their lack of cooperation culturally or economically during most of their history has stimulated foreign intervention and materially complicated the existing international rivalry in the region. Contributing to this division among the inhabitants and the general tendency to disunity in the past is the rugged topography of Transcaucasia. On its northern edge between the Black and Caspian Seas stretches the Caucasus Range forming an effective mountain barrier to north-south travel for trade or military purposes except around its flanks. To the south of these mountains are the great valleys of Georgia and Azerbaidzhan, separated from each other by

mountain ridges and flanked on the south by the high ranges and plateaux of Armenia and Turkey.

Early History

Transcaucasia was the eastern outpost of the early Mediterranean world. In ancient times the Greeks, Persians and Romans all struggled for its control, and it was repeatedly overrun by migrating peoples of that restless age. During these early centuries the main trade route between Europe and Central Asia, China and India passed through Transcaucasia so that it provided a rich source of taxes and booty for the conqueror, as well as control of overland commerce. Of its natural resources, copper and iron seem to have been of international importance even in ancient times.

Among the early developments most important to modern history was the introduction of powerful, highly organized religions. In the 4th century Christianity was established among the Georgian and Armenian people, while Islam was introduced among the Tartars and other groups of Persian and Turkish ancestry during the Arab conquest of the 7th and 8th centuries. From this time on, religious rivalries often became indistinguishably fused with economic rivalries and the net result was intense friction and local antagonism in which other Christian and Moslem peoples and countries freely took part.

Following a short period of control by the Seljuk Turks in the 11th century, a strong independent Georgia under the famed Queen Tamara emerged for a quarter of a century as the most powerful state in western Asia and a center of international trade in that part of the world. Then in the 13th century the Mongols swept in from the east, ravaging and looting the country. They remained until 1403 during which time the overland trade route between Asia and Europe passing through Transcaucasia fell into disuse. With the shifting of the centers of world trade and the opening of the sea routes, this trade route never again assumed its early importance.

In the latter part of the 15th century there began a struggle of three and a quarter centuries during which Persia and Turkey fought for dominance in Transcaucasia, first between

themselves and later against Russia. The Christian population of Transcaucasia naturally tended to seek Russian protection. As early as 1492 it is recorded that the King of eastern Georgia asked Russian protection against the Persians and Turks. Urgent appeals for help were made by the Georgians again in the 17th century. None was given, however, for at that time Russia was not ready to expand into Transcaucasia and was concerned in keeping intact its lucrative trade relations with Persia and Turkey. Though there had been commercial relations between Russia and Transcaucasia since the 16th century, it was not until the 18th century that Russia came to realize the great natural wealth of Transcaucasia, its economic possibilities and, above all, its vital strategical position in the Middle East. Peter the Great, after successfully gaining a port on the Baltic, turned his attention southward with a conquest of India in his mind. Derbent and Baku were captured in 1722-1723, but Peter's death in 1725 brought this campaign to an end and Russia immediately withdrew.

In 1768 began the series of wars between Russia and Turkey which ultimately was to push the latter out of the strategic sections of Transcaucasia. By the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, 1774, Turkish rule in part of Georgia came to an end. At the same time Russia assumed the role of protector of the Christians in the Near East, a concept which for the next 143 years provided one of the most important excuses for Russian expansion southward at Turkey's expense.

In 1783 due to continued threats from Persia and Turkey, Russia by treaty assumed the formal protection of Georgia. Notwithstanding this, Persia again invaded Georgia in 1795 and thoroughly devastated the already weakened state. In the meantime, however, Russian military control had been consolidated to the northern base of the Caucasus by the completion of a Cossack line in 1794 and gradual subjugation of the districts on the north slope of the mountains. As a result Russia could now take a more active part in Transcaucasia. A war with Persia was begun in 1796 in which the cities of Derbent and Baku were taken, but the Empress Catherine's death later in the year brought the invasion to a sudden end. In 1801, eastern Georgia was formally annexed by agreement. In the

next years other districts were taken over; Ossetia, 1802; Mingrelia, 1803; Derbent and Baku, 1806; and Imeritia, 1810.

In the early years of the 19th century Transcaucasia became involved in the Napoleonic wars. Napoleon in 1800 persuaded the Emperor Paul to support his plan of invading India for which Transcaucasia was to be an important advance base, but the Emperor's death the following year ended this partnership. Napoleon then turned against Russia and in 1805 offered to restore Georgia to Persia in return for Persian help in a march to India. This plan also failed because by the time the Persians finally accepted the offer Napoleon had already made peace with Russia. Still within the framework of the Napoleonic wars, but closely involved with the local issues, were long wars between Russia and Turkey, 1806-1812, and between Russia and Persia, 1804-1813. The Western Powers, in one way or another, supported Persia and Turkey in these attempts to stop the Russian advance and to regain their lost territories in Transcaucasia. By the Peace of Gulistan, 1813, Persia agreed to abandon all claims to Georgia and formally ceded the present territory of Azerbaidzhan to Russia. The Black Sea coast of Abkhazia and Mingrelia remained under Turkish control until the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829 when these districts, along with Guria, were also turned over to Russia. In another war with Persia, 1826-1828, Russia obtained part of Armenia, including Erivan. This was Persia's final defeat in Transcaucasia; Turkey, however, for another half century remained in control of important districts in the southwest including the port of Batum. Nevertheless, it can be said that by these wars Russia gained effective control of most of Transcaucasia. The weak point in Russian control from now on was not the external danger but the internal threat that revolts in the mountain districts might lead to foreign intervention before they could be suppressed.

This rapid Russian advance had also caused an increase of British influence in Persia in order to forestall further Russian expansion in the direction of India. In 1814, Persia and Great Britain signed a treaty barring Persia from making treaties or extending military cooperation to nations hostile to Great Britain. Thus British and Russian imperialism came face to

face in the Middle East, and while Transcaucasia was no longer so important as an inter-continental trade route, it had assumed a vital strategic role in the imperialist penetration of the Middle East and Central Asia. Henceforth, Russia's economic rivals were to influence Turkey and Persia to an even greater degree, often using them as mere pawns to defend western interests.

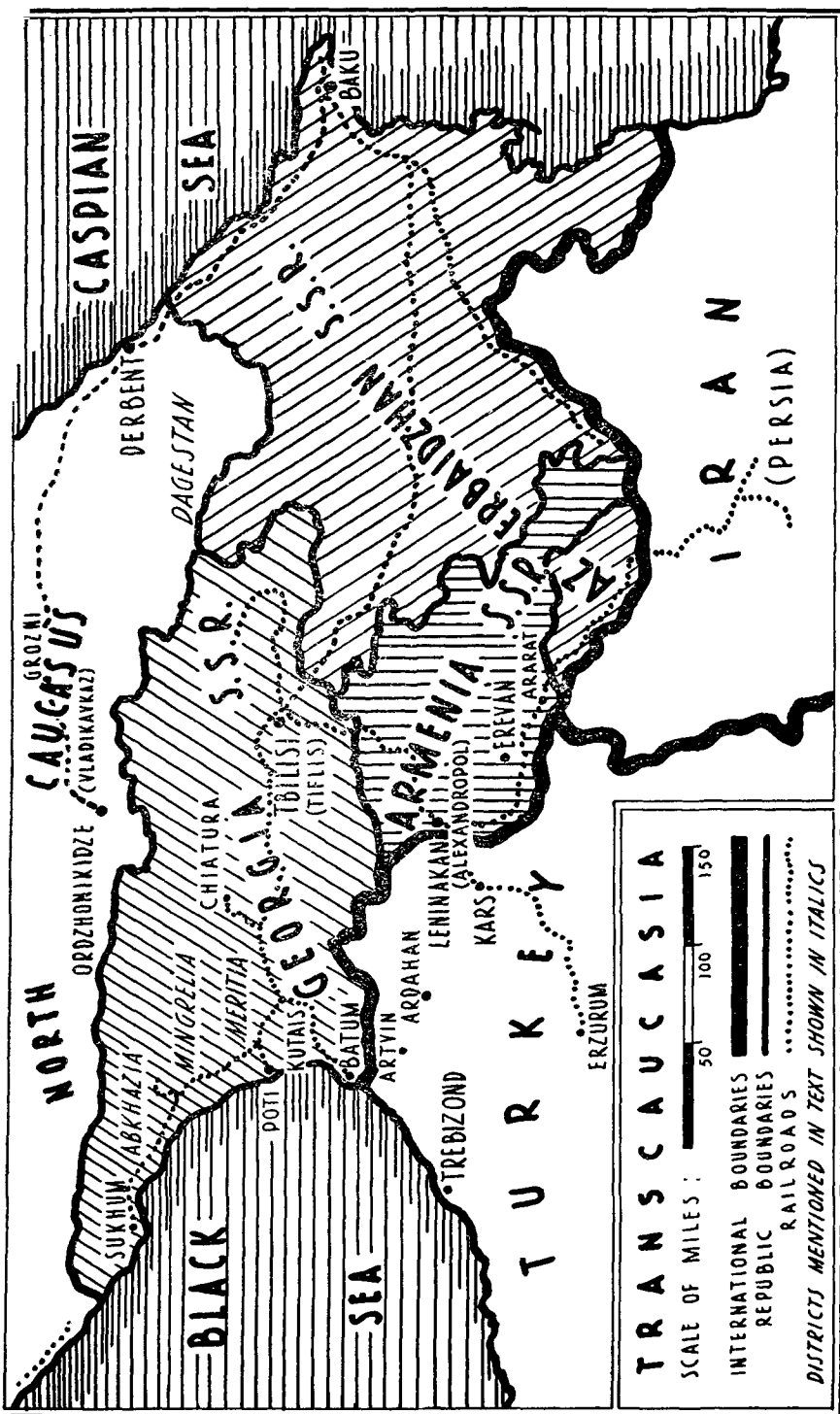
During the 1840's and early '50's, international rivalries increased. Russia again threatened an invasion of India, bringing increased counter-pressure from the British in the Black Sea area. Coupled with continued Russian aggression against Turkey, this led to the Crimean War, 1854-1856, in which Turkey was backed by France and Britain. Though defeated in the Crimea, Russia won victories on the Transcaucasian front and in the resulting Peace of Paris lost no territory there. During the war, Russia was hard pressed in the Eastern Caucasus by a large scale revolt which had been going on for some time under the able religious and military leader, Shamyl. In this "holy war" and "fight for freedom" the mountaineers received valuable help from the Mohammedan nations to the south, and it was openly suggested that France and England should intervene and declare the Caucasus independent under the protection of an Allied fleet. However, after peace was made on the international front, Russia began comprehensive military action to suppress the revolt. Shamyl was captured in 1859 and full subjugation achieved by 1864.

In another war with Turkey, 1877-1878, Russia won important military victories and threatened to bring about the complete disintegration of the Turkish Empire. Strong pressure from the Western Powers prevented this, however, and Russia was forced to relinquish Erzurum and the upper Euphrates valley which had been seized, but was allowed to annex the highly strategic districts of Batum, Ardahan and Kars. In the same settlement, Great Britain guaranteed Turkey against further aggression on its Asiatic frontier, thus stopping further Russian expansion in this area except at the expense of a tremendous war. The British also concluded a convention with the Turks aimed to protect the Christians and other subjects of the Ottoman Empire in Asia Minor. This referred

primarily to the Christian Armenians but, as it was actually a strategic rather than ideological move, little protection for the Christian population ever materialized. On the contrary, the false hopes given the Armenians resulted in bolder attempts to better their position in Turkey, and this led to more serious friction with their Moslem neighbors and the massacres of the 1890's and 1915. In this so-called "Armenian Question," the utter ruthlessness and callousness of imperialist diplomacy in dealing with national minorities was well demonstrated. Both Russia and Great Britain now considered themselves the protectors of the Christian population in Turkey thus gaining a convenient excuse for intervention whenever it suited their interests.

Russian control of Transcaucasia was now firmly consolidated, for in Batum it acquired the only good port on the Black Sea coast of Transcaucasia and in Kars the most important fortress of the southern frontier. The Empire was in an even more strategic position to push its southward expansion, where its aims included the eventual partition of Turkey to get Constantinople, the Dardanelles and more Turkish territory southwest of Georgia; economic penetration of Persia; and continued expansion in Central Asia. The main opposition continued to come from the British Empire. Though these Powers had actually fought each other only in the Crimean War, most of the conflicts with Russia in which Persia and Turkey had taken part were instigated or indirectly supported by Great Britain in the interests of British imperialism. Transcaucasia was only one aspect of the much larger struggle extending from Constantinople to Mongolia in which the economic domination of Asia was at stake.

In the last years of the 19th century, German expansion in the Middle East, as exemplified by the Berlin to Baghdad Railway across Asia Minor, became a serious threat both to the Russian and British Empires. This, combined with the fact that Russia subsequently lost much of its aggressiveness because of its defeat by Japan in 1904-05, and the ensuing Revolution of 1905, made it possible for Great Britain and Russia to come to terms in 1907. A truce was arranged, extending from Persia to China, which called a temporary



(The main range of the Caucasus extends from the Caspian Sea near Baku in a northwesterly direction, reaching the Black Sea Coast near Sukhumi)

halt to the "chess game." Persia was divided into spheres of influence for Russian and British economic efforts, in an attempt to control their rivalry there. Both now could concentrate on their common competitor, Germany. In the same year, the Triple Entente also came into being, aligning Britain, France and Russia in a defensive alliance to offset the old Triple Alliance, also ostensibly defensive, of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy.

Complicating this highly involved international scene was Russia's weak internal situation as demonstrated in the Revolution of 1905. In Transcaucasia resentment had flared up dangerously, causing both a revolt against Russian autocracy and an outbreak of the latent friction between the different national groups. Russian rule, judged by that of other powers was incompetent, inefficient and short-sighted. The government treated Transcaucasia as a colony and showed a complete inability to avoid fomenting religious, racial and national differences.

Economic Importance of Transcaucasia

Beginning in the latter part of the 19th century, Transcaucasia assumed added international importance as the source of tremendously valuable natural resources, vital to any industrial power. Yet, due to the lack of strong financial resources in Russia, the development and operation of the required large scale enterprises were in the hands of foreign capital, notably British, French, German and Belgian.

At Baku, Transcaucasia possessed by far the largest developed oil supply of Russia, while nearby at the northern base of the Caucasus was the next largest, the Grozni field. In 1901 these two fields together produced 10,821,888 tons of oil which was 50.6 per cent of the world output. In subsequent years Baku production declined because of the effects of the 1905 Revolution and the inefficient methods employed. Nevertheless in 1913, Baku supplied 7,669,000 tons or about 83 per cent of the total Russian production. Grozni in that year accounted for 13 per cent of the Russian output so that together their share was 96 per cent. In the pre-war economic rivalries, this was of tremendous significance, for although

the United States had jumped far in the lead in oil production, Russia was in second place and still produced more than double that of its third place competitor.

Second in importance among the natural resources of Transcaucasia, in 1913, was manganese of which the world's largest known deposit occurs in Chiatura, Georgia. Except between 1907 and 1911 when production in India was greater, the Chiatura mines produced more than any other locality, and in 1913 reached a total of 954,645 tons which was 76.7 per cent of the total Russian production and 41.4 per cent of the world's production. In pre-war years practically all the Chiatura production was exported: from 1885 to 1898 Great Britain bought the largest share, but after 1898 was surpassed by Germany. To many countries Chiatura manganese was a vital source of supply for their steel industries. For example, one report showed that before the war 81 per cent of the manganese used in Austria came from Russia; 69 per cent of that used in Germany; 55 per cent in Belgium, and 39 per cent in England. In control of the Chiatura mines were German, British, French and Belgian companies which, in 1912, exported 97 per cent of the year's production.

Third in commercial importance in Transcaucasia were the extensive copper deposits of which the largest producers were French and British companies. In addition, there were known to be large deposits of iron, coal and sulphur, and lesser deposits of mercury, zinc, lead, molybdenum, cobalt, nickel, antimony, asphalt, salt, asbestos, graphite, gold and silver. Transcaucasia also had good agricultural and grazing lands, excellent and extensive forests, abundant waterpower and countless mineral springs of medicinal and recreational value.

From this it can readily be seen that Transcaucasia was a fitting prize for any military victory over Russia and that its position in world affairs was determined both by its strategic geographical position and its immense natural wealth. Germany in its bid for an empire rivalling that of Great Britain and Russia was an increasingly important factor in Transcaucasia's foreign market. Although, in the period from 1884 to 1900, 75 per cent of the foreign trade at Batum had been controlled by Great Britain, in the last decade before the war Ger-

many's share was 65 per cent and Britain's only 7 per cent. Thus the pre-war rivalries of the Great Powers were in a measure reflected in Transcaucasia.

The Great War

Finally on August 1, 1914, the imperialist rivalries which had been sharpening for fifty years came to a head with Germany's declaration of war on Russia. Two months later Turkey, traditional enemy of Russia and now strongly under German influence, joined the Central Powers. If victorious, Turkey could expect to regain control of its lost territories in Transcaucasia, and most certainly its allies would have economic control of most of the region.

In December, a Turkish army, officered in part by Germans, struck northward into Transcaucasia seriously threatening the Russian army on that front. The result was an appeal from Russia to the British to attack the Turks in order to ease the pressure. This was one of the reasons for the Anglo-French attack on the Dardanelles which was launched in April. Though unsuccessful, it did occupy enough Turkish troops to reduce the immediate threat to Transcaucasia. There was only minor fighting on that front in 1915, as the Turks were being pressed elsewhere, but in 1916 the Russians took the offensive and occupied the Turkish cities of Erzurum and Trebizond and a part of Turkish Armenia. By agreement with the Allies, partition of Turkey had now become one of Russia's war aims, together with control of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. These objectives were retained by the Provisional Government which succeeded the abdication of the Tsar and the country continued to fight. Its whole social and economic structure, however, was slowly collapsing, bringing with it a gradual weakening in its political control over Transcaucasia.

With the Bolshevik Revolution in November, the Russian administrative, judicial and military authorities in the Caucasus for the most part found themselves opposed to the Bolsheviks and fled abroad or to the White Armies. Little of the previous governmental organization was left with which to administer the affairs of the region, while at the front the armies rapidly became disorganized and fighting virtually ceased. The first

decree of the new Bolshevik Government was the Decree of Peace which was an appeal to all belligerent nations to start peace parleys. In line with this, the Soviet government on December 7, 1917, renounced all claims to Constantinople and Turkish territory and began a policy of friendship toward Turkey, in part to forestall the projected partition of that country by the Allies.

On November 28, 1917, the three Transcaucasian states, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaidzhan formed a loose federation. It was, however, immediately beset by the economic, social, racial and religious antagonisms inherited from the past, and no strong central government emerged. In spite of an armistice on the Caucasian front, concluded December 18, the whole region now lay at the mercy of the Central Powers.

Brest-Litovsk

In the winter of 1917-1918 the peace talks between the Central Powers and the Soviet Government ended with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed March 3. The terms had been forced on the Soviets under threat of renewed hostilities and further invasion. It was agreed that the Soviets should evacuate all Turkish territory captured by the Russian armies in 1916, while the southwestern part of Transcaucasia consisting of the districts of Ardahan, Kars and Batum were to determine their own status under the principle of self-determination "in agreement with the neighboring States especially Turkey."¹ These were three vital military areas containing important fortresses and Transcaucasia's only good port on the Black Sea. A further supplementary agreement limited the size of the Russian army in Transcaucasia, while Turkey was allowed to keep its army intact. Under the circumstances, this appeared tantamount to ceding these districts directly to Turkey and paving the way for German-Turkish control of Transcaucasia. This might have occurred, but the victors badly overplayed their hands. So flagrantly were the peace terms disregarded that in the end it served to stiffen the determination of Germany's enemies, including Soviet Russia, and thus contributed materially to the final defeat of the Central Powers.

1. Wheeler-Bennett, John W., *The Forgotten Peace: Brest-Litovsk, March, 1918*. William Morrow & Company, New York, 1939, p. 272.

Soon after the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the German and Turkish armies resumed their threatening attitude. At a conference with delegates from Transcaucasia at Trebizond, the Turks made extreme demands which caused the collapse of the negotiations. The Turkish army then entered Armenia and the area whose status was to be determined by the principle of "self-determination." Batum was taken April 14, and Kars, April 26. To the north Ludendorff's German armies were sweeping over the Ukraine and by May had reached Rostov-on-the-Don, commanding the main route of communication between the Caucasus and the rest of Soviet Russia.

In the meantime, on April 22, the three states of Transcaucasia declared themselves completely independent of Russia. Still in control of their governments were groups adhering more or less to the Menshevik faction of the old Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, now thoroughly anti-Bolshevik. Though faced with grave external dangers, local antagonisms were dominant; in fact, military and economic cooperation was impossible. In May, another conference was held in Batum at which a German delegate, General von Lossow, also attended. The Turks demanded control of all Transcaucasia and when this was refused, issued an ultimatum on May 26 demanding acceptance within seventy-two hours. At this point, General von Lossow, whose troops had begun to land at Poti the day before, offered to intervene on behalf of the Transcaucasian Federation. The Georgians and Armenians favored German protection, but the Azerbaidzhanians wished to avoid offending the Turks. Partly as a result of this controversy, the Transcaucasian Federation was dissolved on May 26, and on the same day Georgia declared its independence, followed two days later by similar moves on the part of Armenia and Azerbaidzhan. On May 26, Georgia reached an agreement with the Germans at Poti by which it received Germany's support and a guaranty against further Turkish encroachments. German troops soon occupied Georgia and were officially welcomed by the Georgian Nationalist Government as protectors of that state. To Lenin, struggling to save Soviet Russia from its internal and external enemies, "This was an alliance of German bayonets with the Menshevik government against the Bolshevik

workers and peasants."² As the Germans entered Georgia, the Turks entered Azerbaïdzhan by way of Armenia. Thus, by the summer of 1918 the Central Powers were in virtual control of all Transcaucasia and had successfully severed it from Soviet Russia. The raw materials of the region could now be diverted to their war needs.

It is significant that the campaign by which the Central Powers gained control of Transcaucasia was achieved after the signing of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk when Soviet Russia and the Central Powers were ostensibly at peace. The methods and techniques used and the general manoeuvring between Germany and Turkey on the one hand, and Soviet Russia and the divided nationalist groups on the other, suggests interesting similarities to the methods of German diplomacy in Europe in 1938 and 1939.

After the Bolshevik Revolution, the British sent a special military mission to Persia to forestall the threatened domination of Transcaucasia and the Middle East by Germany and Turkey. In July, when a Turkish army threatened Baku, the Baku Soviet invited the British force in North Persia to come to its support. The Bolshevik members of the Soviet opposed this move and warned that it "may have fatal consequences for the whole of Soviet Russia."³ Nevertheless, on August 17, General Dunster-ville with about 1500 men entered the city. It was believed that this show of strength would rally the local population to resist the Turkish invasion effectively. However, most of the population was either sympathetic to the Turks or apathetic, and no strong opposition could be organized. On September 14, with an overwhelming Turkish force ready to enter the city, the British were withdrawn and returned to Persia. The Turks took over Baku the following day. Though set back in Transcaucasia, the British were meeting with success on Turkey's southern front in Mesopotamia and Palestine, and under General Malle-son were virtually in control to the east in Russian Transcas- pia.

In the autumn of 1918, the Central Powers one by one suffered military collapse. The harshness of the Treaty of Brest-

2. Beria, Lavrenty, *Fifteen Years of Soviet Georgia*. Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers, Moscow, 1936, p. 9.

3. Chamberlin, William Henry, *The Russian Revolution 1917-1921*. The Macmillan Com-pany, New York, 1935. Vol. 2, p. 412.

Litovsk now reacted against them and undoubtedly contributed in large measure to the stern measures of the later Versailles Treaty. By rapid strokes Brest-Litovsk was annulled, first by the Soviet Government, and then by all the belligerent powers as part of the terms of the armistice of November 11th. German and Turkish influence in Transcaucasia now disappeared to be replaced almost immediately by that of Great Britain and the anti-Bolshevik forces.

Intervention

Early in November a British squadron entered the Black Sea and British troops occupied Batum. On November 16, 1918, Baku was reoccupied by British forces from Persia. Soon a full British division was stationed in Transcaucasia where, during the winter, they occupied Tiflis and assumed control of the Transcaucasian Railway from Baku to Batum. This not only served to keep the Turks from keeping possession of strategic parts of Transcaucasia but also effectively kept the Bolsheviks from gaining legislative control in the region. At this time, the dream of expanding empire burned brightly in some quarters in London. The chairman of a British oil company formerly operating at Baku said at a dinner in London: "Never in the history of these islands was there such an opportunity for the peaceful penetration of British influence and British trade, for the creation of a second India or a second Egypt. . . ." "The oil industry of Russia liberally financed and properly organized under British auspices would, in itself, be a valuable asset to the empire. . . . A golden opportunity offers itself to the British Government to exercise a powerful influence upon the immense production of the Grozni, Baku and Trans-Caspian fields."^{3a}

Transcaucasia now became firmly enmeshed in the post-war manoeuvres of the Allies. Not only was there to ensue a tug of war for control of the region, but every attempt was to be made by the Western Powers to use it as a base in their struggle to destroy the Soviet government. The governments of the individual nationalist states of Transcaucasia could not easily oppose this foreign domination, and merely attempted to steer a middle course.

3a. Fischer, Louis, *Oil Imperialism*. International Publishers, New York, 1926. p. 31.

During the winter of 1919, the Powers assembled at the Paris Conference took up the problem of Transcaucasia. The whole matter had now become closely related to the Russian Civil War which would ultimately determine who was to control Russia and whether the former empire would be partitioned. Transcaucasia was still one of the focal points of economic and political interests in Western Asia with its raw materials and its strategic position in the Middle East between Europe and Asia. One of the solutions suggested for the Middle and Near East was a system of mandates to be administered by the Allied Powers. Georgia was offered as a mandate to Italy which the latter at first accepted but subsequently rejected. Later in the year, an American Military Mission visited Transcaucasia to study the problem of its future status. Its report states: "The conclusion of the American Military Mission to Armenia is that the remedy for the existing conditions in Armenia and the Transcaucasus is a mandatory control to be exercised by a single great power."⁴ President Wilson was urged to accept such a mandate for the United States, but the American Senate later rejected the plan.

During 1919 the policy of direct military intervention in Russia was discarded by France and Britain who now pinned their hopes for the destruction of the Soviet Government on the White Armies. British troops were therefore gradually withdrawn from former Russian territory. In August, 1919, Transcaucasia was evacuated except for a garrison which was left in Batum. At this time, Denikin, supported and very largely equipped by the British, had gained control of a large area in South Russia extending to the Caucasus. Though efforts were made to form an alliance between him and the Transcaucasian states, the latter refused for, although they were thoroughly anti-Bolshevik, they also mistrusted the White Armies and feared that a reconstituted Russia would end their dream of political independence.

After Denikin's collapse early in 1920, Great Britain at the Supreme Council in Paris attempted to have the three states of Transcaucasia set up as a buffer state between Soviet Russia

4. *National Republic of Georgia: Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Sixty-ninth Congress, First Session on H.J. Res. 195.* Government Printing Office, Washington, 1926, p. 330.

and Turkey and Persia. This proposal was not accepted, partly because it was so closely associated with the old plan for the dismemberment of Russia into relatively weak nominally independent states. A final effort was then made to organize Batum as a free state under the League of Nations, and when this failed, the British garrison was withdrawn from the city, July 7, 1920. The Powers had already made it clear that they were no longer willing to assume the risks and responsibilities of defending the Transcaucasian states and accordingly had agreed to withdraw from any rivalry with Russia in that region.

Period of Nominal Independence

The independent states of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidzhan experienced difficulties from the very beginning. The age-old nationalist, economic, social and religious antagonisms prevented effective cooperation in this period of stress, so that instead of working together they fought for supremacy among themselves. An example of this lack of cooperation, as it affected the Transcaucasian Railway, is cited in the report of the American Military Mission. The railroad which ran through the three States could not be operated efficiently because of controversies with regard to ownership of fuel, rolling stock, repair shops, and the disposition of freight. The result was a rapidly deteriorating railroad and an almost complete paralysis of the local economy. The governments themselves as the American Mission reported were "from an occidental standpoint . . . thoroughly inefficient, without credit, and undoubtedly corrupt."⁵ Actual military operations were undertaken against each other in minor wars. As might be expected, industry and mining were suffering from the dislocations and breakdowns brought on by the war and revolution and the continuous local hostilities. Oil production at the Baku oil fields was only a fraction of the pre-War level and comparatively few new wells were being drilled. The export of manganese had stopped while the Dardanelles were closed from December, 1914, to December, 1918, which brought an almost complete shutdown at the mines, continuing into 1919 and 1920. Aside from other difficulties within these countries, there was neither economic

5. *National Republic of Georgia*, op. cit., p. 326.

organization nor sufficient capital to exploit the vast natural resources at hand.

Given this situation, it was inevitable that from the outset the three states of Transcaucasia should be subjected to all forms of international political and financial pressure, while individually they were not strong enough to pursue a successful "middle of the road course." Stalin's analysis was that "Under conditions when a deadly struggle is blazing up between proletarian Russia and the imperialist Entente, there are only two ways out possible for the border lands: *either* together with Russia . . . *or* together with the Entente. . . . There is no third way out."⁶ The attempts to attract financial support and other forms of economic help quite inevitably brought these governments into a position oriented toward the Western Powers. Because of this, these states became closely identified with the anti-Bolshevik forces waiting for the collapse of Soviet Russia or actively attempting to bring it about. As satellites of the Western Powers, the Transcaucasian governments naturally assumed the role of being the bulwark against Bolshevism in Western Asia.

The Soviets Take Power

In the meantime the anti-Bolshevik forces in Russia were gradually being beaten and the Soviets were assuming control in areas formerly under the White Armies or "protected" by foreign interests. As W. H. Chamberlin has written: "So far as the chief secondary fronts of the civil war, the Northern Territory, Trans-Caucasia and Central Asia, were concerned, the issue was determined by the outcome of the struggle on the main fronts, against Kolchak and Denikin. The defeat of the Whites and the failure and abandonment of intervention made it certain that the Northern Territory, Trans-Caucasia and Central Asia would sooner or later be reabsorbed into the main body of Soviet Russia."⁷ In world affairs it was also significant, "for in Transcaucasia, the West, headed by Great Britain and France, . . . [was] . . . competing with the East, headed by Russia and Turkey, for economic control of oil and manganese

6. Beria, Lavrenty, *op. cit.*, p. 11; quotation from Stalin, "The Policy of the Soviet Power on the National Question in Russia," *Pravda*, October 10, 1920.

7. Chamberlin, W. H., *op. cit.*, p. 427.

resources of immense importance and for the strategic command of the Asiatic Continent.”⁸ In February, the Whites were defeated in Transcaspia which marked the beginning of the final phase of the Civil War in Central Asia. In the Caucasus the influence of the Soviets gradually spread. Dagestan became Soviet in the early spring of 1920; Baku, and with it all of Azerbaidzhan, in April.

In the autumn the Armenian Nationalist Government and the Angora Government of Turkey went to war. The Armenians were hard pressed, and in December their government collapsed, resulting in the Soviets rise to power. The Turks had already seized Kars and Alexandropol. However, peace was quickly concluded, January 3, 1921, due to the good relations existing between the Soviet and Turkish governments.

Georgia still remained nominally independent. In the view of the Soviet Government, however, “the actual ruler was the French Admiral Dumesnil.”⁹ Its government continued to be openly anti-Bolshevik and was strongly oriented to the Western Powers from which it sought financial, economic and military help. To the Soviets, it was extremely serious that the deposed nationalist governments of Dagestan, Azerbaidzhan and, later, Armenia were getting support from the Georgian Government for attempts to regain power. They also accused the Georgian Government of sabotaging the existence of these new Soviet states by preventing the shipments of needed food-stuffs, arms for defense, and other vital supplies. As in the case of Armenia, the Turkish Government was also at odds with the Georgian Government and was threatening to seize parts of Georgia, particularly the port of Batum. The Georgian Government, being too weak to resist, allegedly tried to get help from the Turkish Government by offering Batum as the price of an alliance against Soviet Russia. Though the Georgian and the Soviet Governments had signed a treaty in May, 1920, in which Georgian independence was recognized, nine months later the former could no longer regard the latter as friendly, independent or able to protect its borders as specified in the treaty. At the same time, Georgia was in a very serious state

8. *Russia Today: The Official Report of the British Trade Union Delegation*. International Publishers, New York, 1925, p. 229.

9. *Russian Review*, Vol. III, April 15, 1925, p. 172.

economically, so much so that the head of its government stated in the fall of 1920: "We are not only approaching a collapse, we are already collapsing."¹⁰ Thus the end of Georgian nationalist independence seemed inevitable. While World Powers were competing for the "protection" of Georgia, with its invaluable oil and manganese resources, Turkey was threatening to assume military control.

In the middle of February, 1921, the nationalist government crumbled and the Soviets began to assume control throughout Georgia. On February 22, Turkey sent an ultimatum to the nationalist government to give up the cities of Ardahan and Artvin and shortly afterwards occupied these cities and Batum as well. Meanwhile, Tiflis came under Soviet control on February 25 and the rest of Georgia within a fortnight. Peace talks were immediately begun with Turkey which, as in the case of Armenia, quickly came to terms because of its good relations with the Soviet government. The result was the treaty of Kars, signed in Moscow, March 16, 1921, which established the frontier and provided that Kars, Ardahan and Artvin should remain under Turkish control and that Batum should be restored to the Georgian Soviet Republic. Of more importance, perhaps, the treaty embodied the first formal recognition by a foreign country of Kemal's Angora government and also contained an expression of friendship between these two governments, both of which were successfully resisting efforts by the Western Powers to destroy them. Subsequently, Turkey and Soviet Russia have maintained friendly relations implemented by treaties of friendship and non-aggression. This continued friendship between the two former traditional enemies has changed the 1914 alignment in European developments and may yet prove one of the decisive factors in the solution of current international rivalries.

Of great importance also was the treaty signed by the Soviet Government with Persia on February 26, 1921. By this pact the Soviets renounced all the former Russian rights in Persia and in turn Persia was not to grant any of these rights to foreigners without the Soviet Government's consent. This effectively blocked British economic penetration into North Persia, freed

10. *Russia Today*, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

Persia from being forced to grant a British sphere of influence, and served the traditional Russian policy of keeping Great Britain at a distance from the Caspian Sea in order to protect the Caucasus and Central Asia.

The Early Years of the Soviet Regime

Soon after the Soviets assumed control in Transcaucasia, the three states became the Soviet Republics of Azerbaidzhan, Armenia and Georgia, bound by treaties with Moscow. In March, 1922, the three states were joined as the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic which, in January, 1923, entered as a single unit into the Soviet Union (U.S.S.R.). In 1936, with the adoption of the new Soviet Constitution, the Transcaucasian S.F.S.R. was split up into three Constituent Republics, the Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaidzhan Soviet Socialist Republics.

After being deposed by the Soviets, the Georgian Nationalist Government moved to Batum and on March 19 sailed away on an Italian warship. On June 10 the representatives of the former national governments of Georgia, Azerbaidzhan, Armenia, and the Northern Caucasus met in Paris and signed an alliance for a "defensive and economic union . . . to strengthen by their common efforts their political, commercial and industrial relations with foreign states and to establish conditions suitable for facilitating the cooperation of foreign capital for the development of the natural riches of Caucasia."¹¹ These exiled governments continued to function in Paris and cooperated with the different private and national interests which for one reason or another sought to dislodge Transcaucasia from Soviet Russia. Their existence in Paris added considerably to the strained relations existing between Soviet Russia and the Western Powers, particularly France. The atmosphere was tense, in any case, due to the continued anti-Bolshevik attitude of the Western Powers and manoeuvres to regain control of former properties in Russia which had been confiscated and nationalized during the Revolution and Civil War. As late as 1926, five years after Georgia became a Soviet Republic, the representatives of the Georgian Nationalist Government and those in sympathy with it had a bill introduced in the United

11. *National Republic of Georgia, op. cit.*, p. 296.

States House of Representatives, "Providing for the appointment of a diplomatic representative to the National Republic of Georgia." At the hearing it was stated that the Nationalist Government still maintained absolute authority over remote parts of Georgia in the Caucasus Mountains. Actually, there was no basis whatever for such a contention.

After 1921 the international struggle for Transcaucasia was fought outside the region—with one exception. In 1924, a serious revolt occurred in Georgia which lasted for about two weeks and which served to enflame national prejudices. Involved were local disaffected groups strongly supported by foreign sources in which the emigré national governments in Paris and the international oil interests played a part.

During the first half of the 1920's a bitter fight was being waged outside the Soviet Union to determine who was to get control of Caucasian oil. There were many interests involved of which the largest were Royal Dutch Shell and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, both of which had owned properties at Baku before the Revolution and were now seeking ways of getting them back or at least obtaining favorable oil concessions from the Soviet Government. The struggle between the companies involved complex manoeuvring and caused their governments to exert diplomatic pressure in various ways on the Soviet Government. Beginning in 1921, Lenin had been willing to offer the Baku and Grozni oil fields as concessions to foreign countries, but the conditions offered were unacceptable to them. In 1922, the Genoa Conference, called to discuss the international situation, was a battle behind closed doors between oil interests seeking some basis of negotiating for Caucasian oil. Later in the year another conference was held at the Hague where oil concessions were openly discussed.

During this period when agreement could not be reached on concessions, there was gradual improvement in the Soviet operation of the oil fields and production began to approach the pre-War totals. At the same time, the financial position of the Soviet Union also became stronger so that the need of granting concessions was less urgent. In 1926-27 the total U.S.S.R. production of oil surpassed the 1913 total, and two years later Baku production, which had been particularly hard hit by the

turmoil in Transcaucasia, also surpassed the best pre-War figure. At this time, oil exports were extremely important to the Soviet Union because of its need for foreign exchange, in the absence of loans and credits. In 1927-28 oil exports were nearly three times those of 1913 and represented one-seventh of the total value of all the USSR's exports. In 1928-29 oil production was one of the four main sources of state income. Of the total USSR oil production in that year Baku contributed 62.5 per cent and Grozni nearly 32 per cent. Thus, in a very direct way, these two Caucasian fields were vital to the economic growth of the country during these critical years.

The struggle for manganese was less spectacular and involved fewer international repercussions. Production increased slowly after the Civil War and by 1923-24 Chiatura was still producing only 320,132 tons or about one-third of the 1913 total. As a result, in 1925 a twenty-year concession to mine at Chiatura was granted to an American interest, Harriman and Co. It ran into difficulties, however, and three years later, in 1928, the concession was given up and transferred to an agency of the Georgian Soviet Republic. With this the only important foreign concession in Transcaucasia under the Soviet regime came to an end.

Since Transcaucasia has been part of the U.S.S.R. its position in the international scene has been closely identified with that of the Soviet Union as a whole. The region has been defended both by strengthening the internal defenses and by astute diplomatic manoeuvres in foreign affairs. In the 1920's when Russian military strength was relatively undeveloped, the Soviets defended their territory by foreign treaties and, in the case of Transcaucasia, by establishing friendship and mutual respect with the peoples of the Middle East. During these years Great Britain feared Bolshevik influence in the border states such as Persia and Turkey more than any threat of Russian military aggression.

Present Position of Transcaucasia

An important factor to be considered in evaluating the present position of Transcaucasia in international affairs is its economic growth since it has become a part of the Soviet Union.

During these eighteen years, a tremendous amount of capital has been invested in the region to improve the condition of transportation, mining operations, manufacturing and, in general, its natural and human resources. Oil production at Baku has increased from 7,591,000 tons in 1927-1928 to 29,950,000 tons in 1937. Though its share of the total Russian production has been lowered due to the development of other oil fields, in 1937, it still accounted for 64 per cent. Manganese production at Chiatura has increased to a lesser extent, but by 1935 it exceeded the highest annual pre-war production, with a total of 1,180,000 tons.

Not the least in importance as a factor strengthening the country is the apparent restoration of harmony between the various peoples of Transcaucasia. The old religious, racial, and economic rivalries no longer seem to be a serious consideration and the unity of the inhabitants, with perhaps minor exceptions, seems to be definitely established.

From the foregoing it can be seen that Transcaucasia is now even more important to the U.S.S.R. than it was to the Russian Empire in 1914, and that it has more potential international significance as a source of raw materials. It is certain to figure prominently in any attack on the Soviet Union from the West. The first line of defense, however, rests at the Dardanelles where Turkish-Soviet friendship appears to be thoroughly cemented, thus for a time, at least, guaranteeing the closing of the Black Sea to hostile naval operations.

As recently as December 20, 1938, the former White Russian, General Denikin, was quoted in the *New York Times* as follows: "He declared a group of White Russian generals, including himself, several years ago obtained the entire plan of an eastern drive from the Fuehrer himself. The goal of the Nazi campaign, he said, was not the Ukraine, but the rich oil deposits of Georgia and Azerbaidzhan in the Caucasus mountains." That the *Drang nach Osten* was revived and in a sense encouraged by the Western Powers during Hitler's early years in power is common knowledge. Just how far this eastward drive may now be modified for a settlement with the West is still unclear. In any case Transcaucasia will in the decades to come undoubt-

edly continue its part in world affairs as one of the vital strategic areas of the earth.

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SHAKESPEARE IN THE USSR

By

JEREMY GURY

For those who look upon the works of Shakespeare and all literature as the living substance not only of the age in which they were created but also of the ages through which they have passed, a study of the most current interpretations of Shakespeare becomes a significant part of the understanding of literature as a whole. Shakespeare wrote for his audiences at the Globe and the Rose, both courtly and common, but he wrote, too, for posterity, part of which were the centuries of readers and audiences all over the world, part of which were the audiences of Booth and Mansfield, part of which are the audiences of Gielgud and Evans, and part of which are millions of Shakespeare enthusiasts who, within the borders of the largest country in the world, have helped to construct a new social order. These are facts which the detached scholar might well bear in mind when he turns to his problems on Shakespearean philology, bibliography, historiography, calligraphy and the thousand and one other subjects, books on which, often forgotten and seldom seen, fill the shelves of the libraries of the world. He might well be informed that for the past year the number of books on Shakespeare's works, published in the Soviet Union because of popular demand, nine hundred thousand, compares more than favorably with the number published both in Great Britain and the United States.

By reading half a dozen Soviet articles the scholar may feel that he understands something about the Soviet approach to Shakespeare. But it all depends upon the articles: it is conceivable that he may read three and discover that the controversy breaks up, amoeba-like, into six or seven issues each of which,

This article has been prepared from notes used by the writer in a series of talks on Shakespeare in the Soviet Union given in the Department of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University. The writer has asked us to point out that his sources have been gathered solely from American publications and from Soviet literature available in the United States. For this reason, he wishes it clearly understood that his conclusions are reflections in America of Soviet Shakespearean criticism.

in accumulating its own mass of quotations, bibliographical references and critical observations, becomes of as much significance as the issue from which it originally stemmed.

The problem of Shakespeare and the Marxist approach in the Soviet Union, although it can be reduced to a number of essentials, provides the Soviet critics with fuel to ignite conflagrations over a vast field of literary and philosophic interests. Thus, without actually checking the growth of issues, we find them dissolving into discussions on Marx, Engels, Lenin, Gorki, and then, Tolstoi, Gogol, Balzac, Goethe, *et al.*, indicating that the battle is not so much over Shakespeare or Tolstoi or any other single writer—but rather over Marxism itself, and literature, and about the former's application to the latter in a proletarian society.

Soviet Shakespearian criticism can be divided, generally speaking, into three more or less distinct schools. It is quite probable that no one of these would admit any reason for the existence of the remaining two—or further, allow their supporters to call themselves true Marxists. It is indeed difficult to trace the evolution of any of these and it seems safe to say that, as varying interpretations, they existed contemporaneously until quite recently when, due to precepts of mutual exclusion, they fell into inevitable conflict. There can be little doubt that allegiance to any of the three schools has not been unswerving and that the present tendency indicates a large-scale support of one definite approach.

The first school to be considered here is the one which deprecates the value of Shakespeare in a socialist society, claiming that all the artistic products of bourgeois, man-exploiting ages and civilizations will diminish in aesthetic value with the gradual development of proletarian consciousness. We therefore hear of a Soviet professor reading a paper before an academy to the effect that despite Shakespeare's genius, the amount of interest in his work will lessen more and more. This theory is based upon the assumption that the attributes of a presumably outworn society will become alien to the social order which supercedes it. The great characters of the classics, among which Shakespeare's are profusely included,

"express in one form or another the passions and experiences of

all classes that have recognized private property. But in so far as the genesis of these characters was in the inevitability of private property and in the oppression of man by man, to the people of a classless society the experiences incarnate in these characters will gradually become foreign."¹

Let us, however, attempt to understand the reasoning which has given rise to this method of evaluation. This same critic, Professor Nusinov, who for the purpose of this paper will be the spokesman for thinkers of similar convictions, states:

"Has the struggle of the masses of the people against their oppressors left its mark upon the works of great writers? To be sure the people have wielded a tremendous influence upon all literature. To be sure the struggle of the masses against their oppressors has left a deep imprint upon the works of great writers. But were these writers the ideologists of the masses of the people? No, an overwhelming majority of the great writers prior to the proletarian revolution were the ideologists of the nobility, the bourgeoisie, the urban petty bourgeoisie, but not the proletariat, the peasantry or the toiling masses."²

It thus becomes apparent that ideologists of any but the toiling masses cannot conceivably be looked upon as great writers, or, at any rate, contributors to lasting literature. The professor, mindful of the arguments which might be used in opposition to his theory, readily disposes of universality and creativeness as attributes instrumental in the production of great works of literature. "I still think," he states,

"that Shakespeare was a nobleman's writer and Balzac a writer of the bourgeoisie, that Pushkin, Gogol and Tolstoi up to the '70s represented the aristocracy, and that Dostoevsky was a writer of the reactionary classes. . . . I think that the creative art of Balzac and Gogol [*and Shakespeare might just as well be included here, J. G.*] is of importance to us not because they were writers of such and such propertied classes or social groups, but in proportion to the objective significance of their works in the struggle between the revolutionary and the reactionary tendencies of their time, in proportion to their objective importance to the triumph of socialism over fascism and imperialism."³

Professor Nusinov is a realist, a socialist realist and he believes that, since the most progressive elements of the age are

1. Quoted in V. Kemenov, "The Shakespeare Decriers," *Literature and Marxism*, The Critics Group, N. Y. 1938, p. 21.

2. Professor Nusinov, "On Objective Class Confusers," *Literature and Marxism*, p. 38.

3. *Ibid.*

still inclined to accept Shakespeare and others, the acceptance should be contingent upon appreciation through socialist analysis. That is to say, a classical work does not have aesthetic value independently, but draws its value from the illumination of party ideology.

"The critical heritage of the classics on the stage consists, first of all, if we may say so, in our ability to multiply the conviction of the classic by our party ideology.

"The question does not only boil down to overcoming nationalism and the property-consciousness of the classic, not only to paralysing its ideological tendencies which are foreign to us. Here, as always, the triumph of our party adherence unavoidably brings us to a deeper understanding of reality."⁴

Surely, one must share the oblique implication that certain societies were and are better able to understand Shakespeare than others, but one wonders how "party ideology" can reveal so lucidly qualities that have for so long remained hidden. Nusinov explains:

"Shakespeare poses the fundamental problems of his epoch. He puts them from the viewpoint of a definite class. . . . It is noteworthy that Shakespeare presents the central problems of an epoch from the viewpoint of a definite historical process through the peculiarities of the fate of an individual, through the peculiarities of his personal conflicts. . . .

"This is what we may call the 'truly Shakespearian.' This is really the essence of 'Shakespearisation.' Through the fate of the individual, through the sufferings of the individual Shakespeare reveals the fate and the suffering of the epoch."⁵

The second group of critics admits Shakespeare's class loyalties and affiliations, but, in interesting contradistinction to the foregoing school, contends that he will have an enduring place in a socialist society because of his struggle against varying forms of oppression and because of an active role in the political cross-currents of his time. Thus, in the first school Shakespeare is doomed to ultimate oblivion because of class interests and in the second is assured of immortality through them. This does not mean that Shakespeare is definitely relegated to one specific class—quite the contrary; although he may have many lessons to teach members of a proletarian society, the constitu-

4. Nusinov, "The Problem of Shakespeare in the Theatre," *Theatre and Dramaturgy*, June 1935.

5. *Ibid.*

ents of the group which thus evaluates his work do not agree, or radically disagree, as to determining his definite class loyalties and affiliations. Thus we find this statement by a Soviet critic:

"According to Friche, Shakespeare was a morose aristocrat, a reactionary pessimistic feudal lord. With Smirnov, on the other hand, the name Shakespeare connotes a boisterous optimist, a shrewd red-cheeked bourgeois. There remains only to combine these points of view, and the result is a new conception according to which Shakespeare turns out to be a jolly pessimist, a red-cheeked aristocrat, a bourgeois nobleman, a feudal lord turning capitalist and so on."⁶

It does not require deep reading into the abundance of criticism produced by this school to find other, more glaring paradoxes and one begins to feel that these critics, through their overwhelming zeal, attempt only to rationalize Shakespeare into the ideological acceptability of their social system. We therefore find Professor Dinamov, a leading and by far the most prolific critic of Shakespeare, stating:

"Shakespeare was the most courageous fighter of his age; he was in the foremost rank of his class. His drama was the drama of struggle."⁷

Shakespeare is deeply loved and widely read in Soviet Russia. Even among the intelligentsia of Tsarist days Shakespeare was regarded as a colossus whose works were read and produced and discussed with avid enthusiasm. It is true, of course, that this enthusiasm existed only among a limited minority. After the Revolution, however, when the masses were given the democratic right to the cultural heritage of the ages, Shakespeare was seized upon with great and loving interest. Understanding the problems of the dramas, probing the profundities, seeing the plays in productions such as only the great theatres of Soviet Russia can stage, all this became comparable to walking through the Winter Palace, to enjoying the fabulous art treasures of the Hermitage and strolling freely along the gardens of Peterhof. Combine this psychological aspect with the facts that Karl Marx, himself, said it was necessary "to shakespeareize more," that Engels and Lenin were ardently devoted to Shakespeare, and the reasons for the enthusiasm become

6. V. Kemenov, "The Shakespeare Decriers," *op. cit.* p. 21.

7. Introduction, *The Works of Shakespeare*, Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1938, p. LVIII.

clear. It remained only for the critics to determine why it was necessary "to shakespeareize more" and why Engels and Lenin believed what they did about Shakespeare. Therein lay the trouble and the evaluation of Shakespeare became part of a whole difficult problem—that of determining an ideological approach to all of the classics which had been accepted by what the Soviets considered a decaying system. Can a dynamic, revolutionary society retain essential parts of a system it strives to overthrow? Professor Dinamov has his answer:

"Shakespeare's art is militant; it teaches struggle and not rest."⁸

And in many varying ways, although all to the same purpose, this school (which is admittedly an arbitrary entity) finds Shakespeare proper for the mass of socialist readers. Indeed Shakespeare is more than acceptable—he is essential and Professor Dinamov declares:

"We need Shakespeare. Our Soviet stage needs him, because he creates vast and passionate characters."⁹

Smirnov, whose book, *Shakespeare, A Marxist Interpretation*,¹⁰ aroused a storm of comment in this country, finds Shakespeare more than proper for Soviet readers. Indeed, much of Shakespeare can be appreciated only by such readers:

"*The bourgeoisie have never been able to understand or accept the revolutionary elements in Shakespeare's works*,¹¹ because these immeasurably transcend the narrow confines of bourgeois thought. They have attempted, therefore, to transform his revolutionary humanism into specious philanthropy and to interpret his concepts of mercy and truth as 'tenderness' and 'righteousness'; his continued appeals for patience-perseverance in the struggle to obtain the ideal—as 'submissiveness'; his disregard for religions and metaphysics as 'philosophical and religious tolerance.' And so, the bourgeoisie have crowned him with the empty title: 'The Universal Man'."¹²

In formulating their respective theories of the Marxist approach to Shakespeare, Smirnov and Dinamov, both among the most prominent critics in this field, emphasize in no uncertain terms the fallacy, or at any rate the inaccuracy, of ascribing

8. *Ibid.*, p. LIX.

9. *Ibid.*, p. LVIII.

10. Critics Group, New York, 1936.

11. Smirnov's italics.

12. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

Shakespeare's genius to universality and human understanding. The logic for this emphasis, presumably, is founded upon the fact that any society, however reactionary, can exalt Shakespeare for these reasons, and if this is the case, the proletarian society, being different from all others, must, necessarily, have different reasons. These reasons exist, contend the critics of this school, and if the correct analysis is made, Shakespeare will be found to be infinitely more compatible to a socialist society than to any other.

Actually, it is not clear what these critics hope to gain by objecting so strenuously to those general evaluations which attribute Shakespeare's genius to universality, creativeness and human understanding. In his introduction to *The Works of Shakespeare*, Professor Dinamov writes:

"People have sought to explain Shakespeare's genius by the fact that he reproduced feelings and emotions proper to man as such. This conflicts with the very essence of Shakespeare's work. The very reason why Shakespeare has retained his significance throughout the ages is that he stood in the very center of the social contradictions of the age in which he lived, that he was a combatant, a politician, a thinker, that he did not separate his art from real life."¹³

This quotation, provocative as it may be to argument and refutation, offers a point of transition to what must hesitatingly be called—the third school. Bearing in mind that Dinamov's edition appeared in 1937 and that Smirnov's book was published in the United States and Great Britain in 1936, it is interesting to find in a theatre review of *The Taming of The Shrew* the following statement:

"It is the living creative soul of Shakespeare that must be understood, his lofty humanism and love for man, for all manifestations of human genius, character and will. One must feel the human quality of Shakespeare's best works in order to imbue them with the breath of life on the stage. Love for all that is characteristic of mankind, a lofty humanism form the ideological content of Shakespeare's play. . . ."¹⁴

This is not a particularly distinctive appraisal but the very familiarity makes it important. Here Shakespeare is not psychologically and sociologically unfit for an evolving proletariat,

13. *Op. Cit.*, p. x.

14. *Moscow News*, Nov. 21, 1938.

nor is all society, excepting the socialist, unfit for Shakespeare and incapable of understanding his true significance.

The third school flatly discredits the first two, insofar as it refuses to admit that the works of Shakespeare were circumscribed by the narrow confines of class interests. "In the great works of world poetry, painting, music and so forth," writes Kemenov,

"there is something which is not confined to the narrow class practice of the ruling strata, or to the temporal period in which these works of art were created. And this 'something' is so imbued with enduring life that precisely because of its presence the tragedies of Shakespeare, the statutes of Phidias, the symphonies of Beethoven survive hundreds of thousands of years and enter as a reserve fund into the development of proletarian socialist culture."¹⁵

If the third Soviet approach to Shakespeare, and for that matter—to all the classics, is one of objectivity wherein Shakespeare is looked upon with much the same understanding and appreciation as he is in the common world of critics, audiences and scholars, what right has this school to call itself Marxist?

Among other things, this group wants to join hands with the producer, the regisseur, the actor, to bring before the audience a clear, unprejudiced picture of the genius that is Shakespeare; it wants to tear down the class walls that have for centuries stood in the way of mass appreciation. It wants the plays to offer aesthetic enjoyment and the opportunities of witnessing the insight of this magnificent universal poet. Whatever political lessons are to be learned will be found, they believe, on the exalted plane of human understanding, and the class angles are to be sought for in thorough Marxist analyses of the poet's place in the historic process. The acknowledgement of Shakespeare's "universality" does not invalidate a Marxian approach to the author and his *milieu*. If Shakespeare has been appreciated in capitalist, man-exploiting societies, that does not necessarily detract from his value in a socialist society; neither does an individual living under socialism have any reason for appreciating Shakespeare more keenly than an individual in a

15. "The Shakespeare Decriers." *Literature and Marxism*, *op. cit.* p. 18.

bourgeois society. Whether one society is more just and democratic than another is an entirely different point. And whether one society enables its masses to share in deep appreciation while another can't keep them in creature comforts, let alone aesthetic advantages, is further different.

While the critics were attempting to probe the dialectical profundities of the phrase "to shakespeareize more," the great theatres of the Soviet Union and the ever-busy presses were bringing Shakespeare more and more before the Soviet masses. While the critics were debating class angles, the theatres were producing clear, objectively-interpreted Shakespeare plays. While one group of critics spoke of Shakespeare's diminishing value, the Moscow Art Theatre, the Vakhtangov and the Maly theatres presented their most notable Shakespearian productions. While another group wrote about Shakespeare's value exclusively to the proletariat, the Soviet Union presented its famed theatre festivals for foreign visitors during which critics from England, France and the United States rapturously applauded the productions of *King Lear*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and others. Therefore, it is in the active theatrical world of the Soviet Union that the most representative approach to Shakespeare is to be found.

There are those in America who may wonder if the plays are converted into material for revolutionary propaganda. If bringing the plays of Shakespeare before factory workers and coal miners can be construed as being revolutionary propaganda, if heralding a Shakespearian opening in the Party press as if it was a national holiday, if distributing volumes of Shakespeare among workers is revolutionary propaganda, then, indeed, "To be or not to be" ranks with "Workers of the World Unite." Shakespeare, to the average Soviet citizen, means great drama and no drama can be too moving, no tragedy too deep, no characters too passionate and emotional for the theatre-loving audiences of Soviet Russia. "We need Shakespeare," say the critics, and that is true; the people need Shakespeare because Shakespeare and very few others have created plot and drama on such a magnificent scale.

According to H. W. L. Dana's recently compiled *Handbook*

on *Soviet Drama*¹⁶ Soviet theatres have produced nineteen of Shakespeare's plays.¹⁷

An official newspaper report regarding the theatre and the third Five-Year Plan states:

"Shakespeare's plays will be performed by 204 theatres in the Soviet Union this year [1939]. Theatres of the USSR alone will give 80 premieres of Shakespeare's works this season. . . .

"Shakespeare's works have been translated into the numerous languages of the Soviet peoples and are being performed in Georgian, Azerbaijan, Kazakh and other national theatres in addition to Moscow."¹⁸

These facts speak for themselves as indications of Soviet interest in the plays of Shakespeare.

Perhaps it may be asked here: are texts altered and the productions so as to conform with socialist ideology? The first part of such a question—that regarding the alteration of texts, can easily be answered—not to any greater or lesser extent than the prerogative of any director or regisseur permits, and not to any greater extent than translation demands. As for the latter—if the production of the complete *Hamlet* on a New York stage is a rare and memorable event, such a production would be, by reason of completeness, equally rare and memorable on a Moscow stage. Regarding the matter of translation, certainly no one can take issue. New translations are always eagerly awaited, sharply criticized or roundly praised. It should be remembered that the linguistic pattern of the USSR comprises over fifty different languages and dialects, many of which are as different from each other as English and Russian. Shakespeare has been translated into over forty of these. The writer's file of newspaper clippings contains articles whose headlines read something like: "Shakespeare, Other Classics, Soviet Plays to be Staged for Kazakhs in Own Language," "Armenian Theatre Produces New Translation of 'Hamlet'," "The New Edition of Shakespeare Published in Kirghiz" and so on. Of course the majority of editions and

16. Publication of the American Russian Institute, New York, 1938, p. 51.

17. *The Comedy of Errors, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, A Midsummer-Night's Dream, The Merchant of Venice, The Taming of the Shrew, Much Ado About Nothing, Twelfth Night, All's Well that Ends Well, Measure for Measure, The Tempest, King Henry IV, Richard III, Romeo and Juliet, Julius Caesar, Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Macbeth, Anthony and Cleopatra.*

18. "Soviet Theatre in the Third Five Year Plan." *Moscow News*, Moscow, U.S.S.R., April 3, 1939, p. 12.

translations are published in Russian, and it is to be expected that Shakespeare suffers to some extent. Although English is the most popular foreign language studied in the Soviet Union, Shakespeare is seldom read in the original. Soviet citizens point with great pride to the fact that Pushkin, their greatest Russian classicist, learned English solely so that he could read Byron and Shakespeare. One must, of course, have completely mastered both languages to be able to judge whether a translation is true to the spirit of the original. The writer has examined in great detail the Soviet edition of the English text of Shakespeare published for foreign workers in the USSR and finds the only errors to be typographical. Certainly there is no distortion.

It is possible, of course, to change the entire meaning of a play without bowdlerizing a single line. Costuming, settings, characterization and direction can carry a play as far from its original concept as if it had been completely re-written. But when has a play not been at the mercy of its director and regisseur? As closely as the Soviet stage has been observed, no one has ever been able to accuse a Soviet theatre of grinding a political ax with the plays and dramas of Shakespeare. The only Soviet Shakespearian production to achieve even mildly controversial proportions was the Vakhtangov's *Hamlet*, a facile vaudeville-like *Hamlet*, the faults of which were anything but political.

This paper has previously claimed that the third school of Soviet Shakespearian criticism is the one most in harmony with the cultural and artistic growth of the country as a whole. These critics fervently acknowledge in the classics the quality of universality and look upon it as an indispensable factor in the appreciation of art in a socialist society. Expressed in the simplest terms this means to directors, designers, and artists that the form and content of Shakespeare remain constantly in harmony with social progress. This principle does not prescribe a method of production. It merely asks that a play associate itself with some part of the historical process so that its problems become sufficiently realistic to be identifiable with the manifold forms of the Soviet Union's progress. This is the realism which Soviet critics and aestheticians choose to

call "socialist realism." It is essentially a broad and open principle and yet one that can irrevocably doom works that are less than classics. Such realism readily countenances any dramatic production that can adequately reflect some phase of a social problem. But if its sole value derives from its content, then its interest, like that of a newsreel, is chiefly ephemeral and must vanish. Or, conversely, if the form and presentation are brilliant and its content inconsequential and unrelated to social advance then it, too, will fade. That is substantially why Soviet theatres have turned so eagerly to the classics, for, where the quality of universality is to be found, there Soviet artists are most free to encompass history as a whole and relate it to the existing order.

The prominent Soviet actor, Prof. Sadovsky, writes:

"The basic style of our epoch is Socialist realism, which not only reveals the life of the present and past with vivid truthfulness, with artistic insight and clear conviction, but also explains the historical process which has led to the tremendous work of construction we witness about us. So that in plays of all kinds—from plays of daily life to heroic and romantic productions, even fairy tales—we find opportunity for further developments on the Soviet stage. . . .

"We 'old actors,' brought up on such Russian classics as Griboyedov, Gogol and Ostrovsky, such world treasures as the plays of Schiller and Shakespeare, cannot but rejoice at the fact that their works are more widely popular on the Soviet stage than ever before."¹⁹

It is significant that the only notable Soviet distortion of Shakespeare should have occurred regarding *Hamlet*. This was the widely abused Vakhtangov Theatre *Hamlet*, and the present writer wishes to observe that because of it, it is eminently unfair to heap any disapproval on the reputation of Soviet theatre rather than on the Vakhtangov Theatre itself. It would be a sad commentary on the status of English and American criticism, or the criticism of any country for that matter, if the national stage were held accountable for the interpretative artistry of any single theatre. It is true, of course, that the methodology of the Vakhtangov *Hamlet* was an essential part of a larger ideal. But it was not long after the theory was put

19. "Famous Representative of Family Noted on Stage tells of Great Opportunities Facing Soviet Actor." *Moscow Daily News*, (N.D.), Moscow, USSR.

into practice that the critical front of popular opinion realized its shortcomings and superficialities. Commenting on the principles which, in part, gave rise to the disputed production, Pavel Markov, a noted Soviet actor, writes:

"The exponents of the eccentric claimed that the modern audience, unlike Shakespeare's, was unable to endure five acts and hours of orated tragedy. They claimed that the quickening tempo of modern life demanded a corresponding change in theatre forms. They drew the laws for these new forms from the music-hall and circus, with acting technique taken directly from those of clowns and side-show performers. Ideas were not to be developed in psychological detail—the eccentric proposed relative and opposed associations. The eccentric actor was to select the most prominent features, exaggerate them to (sometimes beyond) the maximum, and, after exhausting one situation, to move on to the next, different but equally sharply presented."²⁰

It is immediately apparent that a production evolved from such principles is not to be condemned on the basis of harboring questionable political propaganda. It is a matter for regisseurs to dispute. Objective spectators can observe if they choose that the Vakhtangov *Hamlet* was "poor theatre not true to the spirit of the original." This theme can be embroidered upon, but essentially the criticism can be no more acute than that. Norris Houghton, an able American observer of Moscow theatres, feels that Eugene Vakhtangov is expressive of true Soviet theatre and in his highly interesting book, *Moscow Rehearsals*,²¹ discusses Vakhtangov "as a sort of symbol of the artist of the theatre in his relation to the past and future in Russia." Vakhtangov is notable for his attempt to fuse the theatres of Stanislavski and Meyerhold, to unite the now famous realistic technique of the Moscow Art Theatre with the dynamic, bio-mechanical, impressionistic method of the Meyerhold. Vakhtangov died in 1922 and the theatre which bears his name has come a long way since then. The Moscow Art Theatre bears the Order of Lenin and is the first ranking theatre of the Soviet Union, if not the world. The Meyerhold Theatre, on the other hand, has been dissolved, having been adjudged "alien to the interests of the people." It is said that

20. "The Actor and the Revolution," *Theatre Arts Monthly*, September, 1935. N.Y. p. 687.

21. Houghton, Norris, *Moscow Rehearsals: An Account of Methods of Production in the Soviet Theatre*. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1936. p. 126.

the Vakhtangov's *Hamlet* of 1934 was an unfortunate reversion to the influence of Meyerhold.

Norris Houghton's observations are of deep and two-fold interest in that they apply, by direct example, to Shakespeare.

"The theatre must find the truest form for the performance, Vakhtangov believed, and the form must come from the content of the play. But the content must be re-interpreted through the eyes of the collective to accord with the difference in time. Given a production of 'Julius Caesar,' by way of illustration, the collective should not attempt a reconstruction of Roman civilization and Roman thought as the Art Theatre had done; *neither should it attempt a reconstruction of Elizabethan civilization and an approximation of Shakespeare's contemporary thought.* [Italics mine: J. G.]

"Rather it should pay the classic the great compliment of acknowledging its universality in time and try to make 'Julius Caesar' an expression of the collective's own civilization and its own thought. Only thus can it live in today.

"The conclusion which Vakhtangov draws from this is that revolutionary method therefore harmonizes with revolutionary content. After ten years you could not do the same play with the emphasis in the same places. Performances must grow and change. A decade hence 'Julius Caesar' will have a still different meaning from what it has today."²²

These theories seem to justify a radical interpretation of Shakespeare's plays. But there is a very important implication in Vakhtangov's doctrine: the classics are acknowledged as possessing "universality in time." It is but a short step from here to a complete clarification of the whole ideology as it applies to the Soviet theatre. Smirnov, Nusinov, Dinamov and many others fought against the attribution of universality to Shakespeare; in the realm of the theatres, universality was only partially recognized, creating a critical attitude that could have done far more harm than if Shakespeare had not been adjudged a classic at all. Universality, to many of the critics, precludes class analysis. In the case of Vakhtangov and the others who sought constant re-interpretation of the plays in accordance with the dynamic tempo of socialist progress, there seems to be, oddly enough, a misunderstanding of the term. That which is truly universal is so for all time and for all men. Something

22. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

purportedly universal does not need constant patching up to comply with the changing mores of a changing society. This subject has, of course, many deeply philosophical ramifications incapable of elucidation here.

However, the approach to Shakespeare in the Soviet Union seems, in the world of the theatre, to have resolved itself; and it is in juxtaposition to Vakhtangov's precept and example that the following excerpt of a review on a recent Vakhtangov Theatre production of *Much Ado About Nothing* is quoted:

"It is a slight play, in which the wit and repartee of Beatrice and Benedict are more important than the artificial tale of how Don John almost succeeds in frustrating the marriage of Hero and Claudio. A successful production must capture the spirit of Renaissance Italy and Elizabethan England—its robustness, gaiety and wit. This was done last night to perfection; and the visiting spectator could not help feeling that these were qualities close to the Soviet Union today."²³

23. "Shakespeare Performance Lauded by Festival Guests," *Moscow Daily News*, September, 1937.

SOVIET STORE MANAGER

By

HENRY H. WARE

Plenty of customers, or the store-keeper's dream come true: the never-lagging buying power of the Soviet people is the secret to the success of the retail store manager. In the Soviet Union any honest, resourceful, hard-working manager of ordinary intelligence should be able to operate his store profitably and make a decent living. When the store surpasses expectations and over-fulfills its sales plan, in addition to regular salary the manager and clerks get a share of the additional income. He goes into business not gambling for a "lucky break," but confident of the economic and social security which this well-paid job offers him. It is a job which tests his abilities and offers reasonable additional rewards for outstanding achievement. Financial risk is carried by the government.

With the extension of the local responsibility and initiative of retail store managers in buying, with a more extensive use of advance orders, together with a greater flexibility in the use of credit, Soviet stores are today in better position than ever, structurally, to cope with the local demands and the specific needs of their customers. While it is true that the State trade and consumers' cooperatives organizationally remain two distinct systems—cooperatives now relegated to work only in the countryside, while the State trade operates largely in the urban areas—the "pyramidal" structure of the two organizations, however, is no longer clearly defined. Only a few centrally-planned goods necessarily come all the way from the "top" down through specified warehouses, wholesalers and other organizations to the retailer at the "bottom." At the present time, even at the base of its pyramid, a cooperative retailer may obtain goods from a State warehouse or a State system retailer may contract with a cooperative organization or collective farm for a supply of products. All these "decen-

HENRY WARE studied in the Plekhanov Institute of National Economy under the Commissariat of Trade. The present article is taken from his thesis for the degree of M.A. at Columbia University.

tralized" sources of supply for the retailer, however, must be incorporated into the store's plan, which is subject to the examination and approval of the next higher authority in the particular trade network concerned. As is the case with practically all other Soviet institutions, the retail store is planned to operate profitably. So, also, with over-fulfillment of the plan a cardinal virtue throughout the economy, the Soviet store is given all encouragement in this direction, but only insofar as its activities are financially sound. If an over-zealous store manager oversteps himself in the use of resources at his disposal, the State Bank may threaten to suspend credits and order a thorough investigation.

It is felt that there is no legitimate reason for any Soviet store to operate unprofitably. If the manager is incompetent he must be removed and "sent back to school." If supplies are inadequate they must be improved. If unsuitable store rooms and sales equipment are making it impossible to serve the customers properly, measures must be taken immediately. If the store fails to make a profit because of seasonal changes in demand which were not taken into consideration, the necessary correction can be made for the next plan period. There even may be a valid reason for a permanent falling off of demand, such as caused by population movements, re-routing of passenger transportation, etc. In such cases, the plan of sales may be correspondingly lowered, or if warranted, the store may be closed down completely, to be re-opened in another more suitable locality.

In this article, the scope of individual initiative and responsibility of the Soviet retail store manager will be outlined.¹

Buildings and Equipment

Starting in business, one of the first things to consider is the store itself. The new demands upon stores for up-to-date sales methods and greater general efficiency of operation have made it necessary to remodel many of the retail stores now in use. Often, it was found that stone-work, wood-work, plumbing, and electric connections had been installed without re-

1. For further material on Soviet retail trade, see: Ware, Henry H., "Planned Soviet Prices," *The American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*, July, 1938, and "The Development of Soviet Domestic Trade," *Research Bulletin on the Soviet Union*, Sept. 30, 1937.

gard to the needs of trade. To remedy this situation, in 1935 the Soviet of People's Commissars set up a Bureau of Technical Consultation, under the Commissariat of Trade. It is the duty of the bureau to look over all projects and estimates for the construction of stores, restaurants and warehouses which are to cost one million rubles² and over. All projects costing less than one million rubles must be accepted by the heads of the distribution trusts and nation-wide trade associations.³ The extensive construction of standard type stores has come about only during the past two years.⁴ At the present time *Soyuzgiptorg* (the All-Union State Office of Projects for Trading Organizations and Organizations for Public Feeding) has worked out standard projects for stores handling dry-goods, for those selling food products, and for those carrying mixed lines. These stores of standard architectural plan and construction are built in various sizes, calculated for operation by a personnel ranging in size from three to sixty-six persons.⁵ As far back as 1933 the Soviet of People's Commissars passed a decree mandating the allotment of retail trading space on the ground floor of all large newly constructed apartment houses.⁶ Now, in all there have been worked out fifty variations for different types of stores. Of these stores being constructed according to standard projects, the most prevalent are those served by a personnel of sixty-three. These standardized architectural plans, as well as those submitted from individual designs drawn up by architects working in various other organizations, must all be acceptable to the city Soviet or rural Soviet which passes upon the suitability of all proposed construction in its area.

Personnel

After the retail store is constructed, remodeled or renovated to suit the needs of modern "cultural" trade, the next problem

2. The official rate of exchange is approximately five rubles equal one American dollar.

3. G. Zlochevsky, "The Organization of Labor and Norms for the Trade in Agricultural Products" (in Russian), *Questions of Soviet Trade*, Moscow, Jan.-Feb., 1938, p. 59.

4. V. Igumentsev, "Projects for Standard Type Stores" (in Russian), *Questions of Soviet Trade*, January, 1939, p. 35.

5. V. Igumentsev, *Ibid.*

6. Decree of the Soviet of People's Commissars of Dec. 4, 1933, "On the Compulsory Construction of Trading Space in New Houses" (in Russian).

to consider is supplying the manager and personnel. The rulings of the Commissariat of Trade are as follows:

"The director of a store is appointed by the head of the next higher trade organization in the system in which the store is organized.

"The director operates the store on the basis of management with sole responsibility and carries full responsibility for all of its activities as a whole.

"Material responsibility is borne by those persons to whom things of value have been entrusted on account, and so also by the director in case of negligence in taking necessary steps to fight theft, embezzlement, short-changing, etc.

"No establishment or person may interfere with the activity of the store over the head of the director, with the exception of cases specifically indicated by law."⁷

Frequently in small stores, in addition to the director, there may be only sales clerks and a cashier. Larger stores always have at least one accountant, special store-room hands, wrappers, a secretary to the manager or director, perhaps an assistant director, and even a permanent planning department of economists and statisticians. Of all these people, this one individual, the director, is always held answerable to the higher authorities in the chain and to the buying public for all that the store does or may fail to do.

The director hires all of the personnel of the store, with the exception of the assistant director and the head accountant, who are appointed by the next higher organization, on the recommendation of the director.⁸ The heads of the sales departments may recommend sales clerks for employment or for dismissal. Cases for dismissal, however, must be sanctioned by the director, for which action he must assume full responsibility. In cases of dismissal for personal or other unjustifiable reasons, the trade union will re-establish the worker at his job and call the director to task. If the erring director is a Communist Party member, he will be subject to further censure by that organization.

Among the new departments formed following the reorganization of the Trade Commissariat, made effective April 3,

7. Ruling of the People's Commissariat of Internal Trade, Sept. 1, 1935.

8. "Status of the Cost Accounting Store" (in Russian), in *Collection of Basic Enactments on Labor and Wages in State Trade*, Moscow, 1937, p. 98.

1938, there is a Section for the Selection and Accounting of Cadres and a Section of Trade Cadres and Wages.⁹ These departments are endeavoring to place more effectively, the available, qualified, specialized, and other trained trade workers. They are planning for the most rational use of the several thousand new trade specialists who are graduating annually from institutions of higher learning. Also, they are taking other direct steps to raise the level of labor efficiency throughout the store system. Commissar Mikoian pointed out recently, however, that the selection of personnel and the drawing up of good regulations concerning their work in the trade system was in itself not enough.¹⁰ What is important is how the work is carried out. Regretting that regulations and decisions were not always given due attention, he gave an example of how too often the employment of trade personnel is done. "They check over the application blank, and that is all. True enough, the application is necessary, but is it possible to check-up on a person only on the basis of an application? A good systematic check-up of actual work will show who works well, who is lazy, who conscientious, who sabotages and who is a bureaucrat, who honest, who is capable and who hopeless, who should be promoted and encouraged, and who should be dismissed."

Wage System

Ever since 1935, the wage system in practically all Soviet stores has been related directly to the fulfillment of sales plan. This is one of the major factors which has helped to increase the efficiency of retail trading during the past several years. Whereas formerly sales clerks were paid solely on a salary basis, they now are paid in addition to the salary according to their success in fulfilling and overfulfilling the sales plan. The basic salaries, and so also the additional amounts which may be received, vary according to the qualifications and experience of the clerks and according to the nature of the work done. This wage rate for the highest category sales clerks (of three or four categories) must be planned to be seventy-five per cent

9. "The Situation in the People's Commissariat of Trade," accepted by the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR on April 3, 1938, *Questions of Soviet Trade*, March, 1938, p. 12 (in Russian).

10. Mikoian, at the 18th Congress of the CPSU, *Pravda*, March 16, 1939, p. 8.

higher than the lowest category.¹¹ The wages fund of each store must be planned along with other operational expenses in advance. It must be worked out in a way thoroughly consistent with the general labor agreements contracted by the Union of State Trade Workers with the higher trade authorities. Furthermore, as a further stimulus to the sales force, the rate of additional pay for over-fulfillment of the plan is progressively scaled. When the plan is over-fulfilled by thirty per cent, for instance, the clerk receives twice the bonus *rate* which he receives when the plan is fulfilled only ten per cent above plan.¹² The actual amount of additional pay he receives in this instance is then six times as great. The Commissariat of Trade and the Central Committee of the Trade Union of State Trade Workers have established that for over-time work in all their stores all workers, except the director and his assistant, shall receive one and one-half pay for each hour of over-time up to two hours; for over-time of more than two hours double pay must be given.¹³ The length of the regular work-day, as established by law, for those working in trade varies according to specific occupation and conditions of labor from six hours for most office work and work in cellars to eight hours for less strenuous work. The director is entitled to additional pay for overtime only during days of pre-holiday trade, and then only when working without his assistant.¹³

The directors or managers of stores, as previously mentioned, ordinarily have a good salary well above the earnings of the highest paid clerks. According to complaints in recent issues of *Pravda*, however, it is not infrequent that heads of sales departments in certain stores, because of progressive bonuses, have at times received a total wage in excess of the director's salary. While the director stands to benefit personally when the plan is over-fulfilled, ordinarily the size of his money income is not nearly as sensitive to the success of the sales plan as is that of those directly responsible for such success. As the size of the store varies and consequently the demands upon ability and responsibility, so also, logically enough, the

11. Decree of the Soviet of People's Commissars of July 5, 1935. (in Russian)

12. Decree of the People's Commissariat of Internal Trade and the Central Committee of the Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R., of Feb. 8, 1926 (in Russian).

13. "Information," in *Soviet Trade* (in Russian), June, 1936, p. 76.

director's salary varies. In the consumers' cooperatives, for instance, in 1935 it was established that the heads of the largest stores should receive a basic salary three times that of managers of the smaller stores.¹⁴ In order for the head of a consumers' cooperative to receive a bonus for the successful fulfillment of his plan, the bonus has to be voted either at the general gathering of the member-owners, or at a meeting of authorized delegates.

These practices in regard to hours, salaries and wages are, generally speaking, prevalent throughout both State and cooperative trade systems in the Soviet Union. Only in certain types of stores handling perishable foods the old basis of flat salary payment persists, without additional progressive *rates* of pay for over-fulfillment of sales plan.

According to a ruling of the Soviet of People's Commissars in 1936, many very small retail stands, kiosks, and booths with not more than three regular workers were reorganized to operate on a basis which would give them almost complete local sales initiative. Instead of having wages and other expenses planned for these miniature retailers they now have at their disposal the entire margin between the fixed small-wholesale price at which they are supplied, and the planned fixed retail price at which they sell. They are guaranteed no minimum wage; the duration of their work day is not regulated; and they are permitted to draw in members of their family to help sell during the busiest times of the day.¹⁵

Such measures as these for the small booths may sound shockingly backward in contrast to the numerous social and economic guarantees enjoyed by those working in practically every other form of Soviet trade. It is pertinent to observe, however, that every booth and stall has its location planned and is set up only where there is an ample number of customers. In view of innumerable other opportunities for jobs in Soviet Russia, it may be assumed justifiably perhaps, that if this type of labor is not worth a man's while, he will try some-

14. "On the Work of the Consumers' Cooperatives in the Rural Areas," Ruling of the Soviet of People's Commissars and the Central Committee C.P.S.U., Sept. 29, 1935, in *Soviet Worker's Guide* (in Russian), Moscow, 1937, pp. 644-645.

15. R. Kraindlin and N. Hohrina, "New System for Paying Labor in Small Retail" (in Russian), *Soviet Trade*, Nov.-Dec., 1936, pp. 63-64.

thing else. The various members of a man's family, according to their age and experience, are all eligible for jobs, old age pensions, or education with pay: therefore there would not arise the economic pressures which might drive the miniature retailer to "exploit" his family. Actually, greatly increased earnings have resulted from these organizational changes in this type of very small retail trade. In fact, there were so many complaints from those working in the regular retail trade networks concerning the "unduly high" earnings of the booths, that the trade commissariat remedied the situation, by raising the small-wholesale price at which the miniature retailers were being supplied.¹⁶

Finance and Contracts

One of the most important things to know before starting to operate a Soviet store is the extent of its financial independence and dependence. Differences of this sort are far more significant from the point of operation than are considerations as to whether the store carries a line of furniture, groceries, or textile goods. It is more important than if the store has a personnel of five or fifty-five. The size of the store and the amount of business it does, however, have a direct relationship to the financial category of the store. Ever since 1935 the planned trend has been toward an increasing amount of financial and operational independence for Soviet retail managers. Now practically all State and cooperative stores fall into one of three main categories, determined upon the basis of the character of the work done by the store and the amount of trade handled.¹⁷

First category stores do a relatively small amount of business (in most cases, stores with monthly sales of not over 150 thousand rubles). (a) These stores independently draw up their own balance of operational expenses and returns. (b) In drawing up single orders, they have the right to select their own assortment of the goods they are buying (though they must always maintain the compulsory minimum assortment of

16. Order No. 2871, issued by the People's Commissariat of Internal Trade, Aug. 31, 1936, *Soviet Trade*, Nov.-Dec., 1936, p. 67.

17. Order of the People's Commissariat of Internal Trade of the USSR, Sept. 1, 1935, No. 838, "On the transfer of stores onto a cost accounting basis, and on the rights and duties of directors and sales clerks in cost accounting stores" (in Russian), pp. 1-3.

goods on hand). This selection must be within the limits of the items and quantities agreed upon in the trade-financial plan of the next higher trade organization (head of the chain, etc.). (c) Such stores have an *internal account* (no bank account) with that trade organization to which they are subordinate.

Second category stores do a larger amount of business (depending upon the type of goods handled, usually the required amount of business must be over 150 thousand rubles per month). These stores have, in addition to their own independent balance, their own financial funds partially covering the value of goods on hand. Their greater independence is expressed further by their rights of purchase. They may buy supplies independently, within the limits of the trade-financial plan accepted for the store, from trusts, from individual plants and factories, from industrial distributive agencies, from individual craft cooperatives, from trade warehouses, from collective farms, etc.

Third category stores are the largest. This includes stores on a special list drawn up by the regional branches of the Trade Commissariat together with the State Bank. It includes also all regional department stores, all "cultural goods" stores, and all stores of the *prodmag*, a chain which sells certain types of food-stuffs. In addition to the rights enjoyed by the first two categories, this group may enter into contractual relations with the various supplying agencies for periodic or other future supplies. These stores have their own individual accounts with the bank and enjoy the right to receive credit directly from the bank.

One of the basic questions to consider in regard to the degree of cost accounting and financial independence which a retail store enjoys is its independent activity in buying goods, both centralized (from its superior organization) and decentralized (by individual arrangement with various other organizations.) In determining what should be the cost accounting status, of greater importance than the volume of trade handled is the proportion of decentralized supplies which the store receives. With a large proportion of supplies coming from decentralized sources, it is advisable to have a direct

accounting contact with the bank. When, however, a store is supplied almost exclusively directly from the warehouses of its own trade organization, having its own bank account would necessitate wasteful duplication. It would mean that the bank would have to concern itself with shifting funds to and from the various accounts of the different wholesale and retail stores within one system, while all these accounts could be cleared internally. Such considerations are the basis for a recent ruling of the Trade Commissariat according to which 25 per cent or more of the sales of a retail store must be bought by the store itself along decentralized lines, if the store is to have its own account with the bank.¹⁸

One of the most difficult problems facing a retail manager, as he tries to use his independence most effectively, is to work out the details as to what should be the middlemen-factory-producer relationship for channels of supply. There are many variables, all of which must be weighed carefully. There are four main types of contracts between Soviet business organizations. They are the *general*, *local*, *direct* and *centralized* contracts.¹⁹ The *general* and *centralized* contracts are made between central organs of supplies (trusts, selling depts. of industries, etc.) and central organs of buyers (trusts, centralized cooperatives, etc.). On the basis of the *general* contracts, the subordinate links in the suppliers' system make *local* contracts with the subordinate links in the buyers' system. *Direct* contracts are made directly between local suppliers and buyers, without *general* contracts between their central organs. With the present more adequate supply of many of the formerly deficit goods, the number of goods supplied only centrally has greatly diminished. This and other changes, such as the recent credit reforms, in the trading system have accentuated the tendency for retail stores to buy more goods decentralized. This has meant a shift of emphasis from the *local* contracts, based upon and extending the *general* contracts within one's own trading network, to the *direct* contracts which now are used for independent agreements between retailer and any number of outside suppliers.

18. N. Kononov, "Practical Questions on Establishing Cost Accounting in the Store," *Soviet Trade* (in Russian), March, 1936, pp. 30, 31.

19. G. Amfiatrov, "The Basic Characteristics of the Projected Law of Contracts" (in Russian), Moscow, 1934, pp. 21-22.

All organizations competent to conclude *direct contracts* are entitled to make advance orders. Although the system of advance orders is continually being broadened to cover more goods, certain types of stores carry lines which are still not subject to being ordered through such contracts. The amount of its supplies which a trade organization may obtain on the basis of advance orders varies from 60 per cent to 100 per cent, according to the type of trade activity. Clothing factories which buy textiles for further manufacture and department stores may contract for 100 per cent of their supplies by advance orders.²⁰ Organizations which are not in such a favorable position to know the structure of their future demand may give advance orders on not more than 60-80 per cent of their supplies.

Prior to the recent credit reforms, it was easier for a store manager to be lazy and follow the line of least resistance. Too often he did not bother about what his store sold, how it sold, or with what it was supplied. Goods were scarce and buying power was good; so no matter what he sold, he could count on fulfilling his sales plan. His major worry was to get enough of something to sell: it did not much matter to him what it was. Since the bank extended credit to him on the basis of the total amount of sales, it was only natural for him to supply himself with only those goods which he could sell most profitably.

Since 1936, the State Bank extends credit only to those trade organizations which (a) are not in the red, according to their quarterly balance, (b) maintain their established share of financial means for buying of goods, during each quarter, and (c) are conscientious in paying up their obligations to the State Bank.²¹

Checks and Balances

A new and inexperienced Soviet retail store director might have trouble complying with all the various financial and economic obligations regarding credit opportunities, financial status, contract rights, sources of supply, obligations to his

20. L. E. Hubbard, *Soviet Trade and Distribution*, London, 1938, p. 123.

21. Decree of the Soviet of People's Commissars, July 4, 1939, in *Soviet Worker's Guide* (in Russian), Moscow, 1937, p. 631.

personnel, and service to his customers. Perhaps the manager is lazy and content to operate inefficiently in a slipshod manner if he can manage somehow to fulfill his sales plan. Still another director may be interested in nothing but the maximum amount of money in his pocket, to which end he will do anything he can "get away with."

To be realistic, the "checks and balances" in the Soviet trading system have had to be worked out so as to deal with all possible types of store managers. Under a new social system with new distributive relationships (not to mention productive ones) between firms and individuals, new forms of social control have had to be evolved for the trade system. For want of adequate experience by which to be guided, this has had to be done to a large extent by the trial and error method. Many errors still exist, as the Soviets with their penchant for "self-criticism" readily admit. (Even though it is generally recognized that Soviet trade is one of the laggards in the growth of the planned economy, it does deserve credit for the progress it has made.) At the present time, the director of the Soviet retail store, upon whom we are focusing our attention in this study, has a greater freedom for personal initiative than he had a few years ago. At the same time he has more specific duties and obligations.

For the inexperienced retail store director, the periodic control of his plans by the higher bodies and constant financial control by the bank serve as instructive and guiding assistance. For the lazy director, recently instituted checks and regulations serve to prod him into greater personal activity. As for the dishonest "careerist" director, his field of "anti-social" action is narrowed down by the careful surveillance of his accounts whenever things do not appear to be going as they should.

The general restrictions, requirements, regulations and opportunities for the retail store manager, as treated so far, are those which apply, or should apply, automatically, as the store functions in its normal relationship with the higher trade bodies and the bank. In addition to these, there are several other types of checks over the work of the manager operating his retail store. These checks originate from the following

groups: the State Trade Inspection, the Trade Unions, the Communist Party, the public, and the local Soviet.

The State Trade Inspection is organized under the Commissariat of Trade of the USSR. It is the duty of this organization to check up on the fulfillment by all State and co-operative trade establishments of the laws and decrees of the government and rules regulating trade. In particular, this includes a careful control over fixed retail prices and trade margins; a check-up of the goods sold to customers to see to it that they are full weight and measure; and control over the maintenance of cleanliness and hygienic conditions in the trade organization.²²

The entire personnel of stores handling foods is subject to periodic medical examinations not less than once every three months.²³ Many stores have their own manicurists who serve the sales staff. The author can testify from personal experience that stores refuse to accept returned milk bottles unless they are absolutely clean.

Every year all the State and cooperative trade organizations must draw up collective agreements between management and workers, regulating the mutual duties and obligations in regard to the wage scales, conditions of work, risks, guarantees, etc. These agreements are drawn up on the basis of the existing labor law, taking into consideration any recent developments which may necessitate changes in the collective agreements over those of the preceding year. Such changes often are indicated in special instructions issued by the Soviet of People's Commissars.²⁴ Each individual retail store makes its own collective agreement.

The protection of the rights of the workers in the store is secured by the trade unions not only through the collective agreements which relate largely to labor questions directly concerned in the operational plan of the store. In addition to its regular obligations to its constituents, the Central Council

22. "The Situation in the People's Commissariat of Trade," *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

23. Decree of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, R.S.F.S.R. and the People's Commissariat of Trade, R.S.F.S.R., of March 15, 1933, in *Collection of Basic Enactments on Labor and Wages in Soviet Trade*, Moscow, 1937 (in Russian), p. 17.

24. A. Dubovoy, *How a State Trade Worker can Calculate his Earnings* (in Russian), Moscow, 1935, p. 31.

of Trade Unions has organized its own labor inspection service for State trade all over the Soviet Union.²⁵ This inspection checks up on the work of the local union members in the stores, not only in regard to the legal aspects of labor, but also concerning the technical and sanitary status of the stores.

If the director of the retail store is a member of the Communist Party, this fact acts as an indirect check upon his business. While there is no organized interference by any body representing the Communist Party with the business dealings or labor relationship of the store, the Communist director is strictly held to account for all his actions, on the grounds that with his political training he is supposed to be more socially aware of the significance and implications of his every act. In cases where the store manager is not a Communist, pressure may be brought to bear by the Communist Party only indirectly through other than Party channels.

From among the foremost "udarnik" Stakhanovite workers in the store a "social inspector" is chosen. His work is directed by the State Labor Inspectors, to whom he regularly makes reports. He is chosen by the local committees of the trade union; and cannot be a person connected with the management of the store.

The director of the store is directly answerable to the buying public. It is his duty to see to it that his goods for sale are arranged conveniently and properly located as to size, type, sort, perishability, odor, etc. Moreover, he must see to it that all salesmanship is courteous and polite and that the customer is given complete information as to how to wear, adjust, assemble, or use the article bought. If a customer has any suggestions or complaints to make, he has a right to summon the director to the counter. After arguing, if the director fails to give complete satisfaction or if for any other reason the customer wants his complaint in writing, he demands the "book of suggestions and complaints" which is always kept within reach of the counter. The director is required to take action on written complaints within three days time. He must write an answer to the complaints telling just what steps

25. Decree of the Presidium of the All-Union Central Committee of the Trade Unions, USSR, of Dec. 5, 1933, "Inspecting the Work of the Trade."

have been or are being taken to remedy the condition which dissatisfied the customer. The effectiveness of the complaint book is further enhanced because it is inspected periodically by the higher bodies of the trade system, who necessarily are interested (financially as well as socially) in the welfare of their retail stores.

Other public control is exercised over the activities of the retail store manager through suggestions made at consumers' conferences and at other meetings and gatherings where the public is very outspoken. Improper upkeep and use of store buildings, poorly cleaned sidewalks, or an accumulation of trash in the courtyard, and any number of other shortcomings may cause steps to be taken by the local Soviet, or town council.

A "rugged individualist" store manager may regard these legal, administrative, and social pressures as hindrances to his work. Actually, it is such "checks and balances" which make for a more efficient trading system, more sensitive to the legitimate demands of the Soviet buying public. All this helps to guarantee a reasonable profit to all hard-working store managers. Since price competition has no right to exist in the Soviet planned economy, and service competition among stores is strictly limited by the plan; and so also because of the fact that buying power is apt to be greater than available supplies, in order to make possible the development of "cultural" trade and adequate consumer satisfaction, a strict system of checks, inspections and regulations is essential.

With his actions circumscribed by this "ring of steel" of law, regulation, and control, the manager may appear to be in a position where whether he like it or not he has no choice but to follow the "straight and narrow path." This is not the case, however; nor would it be so if these controls were fool-proof, which they are not. It is true that the retail store manager is learning rapidly that if he is to get along at all he must abide by the rules of the game. But still it is up to him as to whether he can play the game well or badly.

The director of a store must draw up, submit, correct, and have accepted the plan for all the activities of his store. In making up the plan and in carrying it out there always are

many alternatives. The efficient director must try to discover the most advantageous of all the alternatives, and must assume the personal initiative necessary in order to carry them into action.

The director of a store may know, for instance, that he is permitted to make advance orders for as much as 60 per cent of his supplies, but he must decide which goods to order in this way. He knows at what retail prices he must sell his goods; and this is incorporated into his general operational plan—but it is for him to decide which is the most economical source of supply, in terms of size of shipment, storage rates, and transportation routing. He knows what compulsory assortment of goods he must keep on hand; but it is up to him to calculate correctly the movement of these goods from the suppliers so that he will neither run out of supplies, nor be flooded with them. These decisions must be made in coordination with essential considerations such as the transportation facilities available, storage space available and credit available for each of his categories of goods.

While the American store manager usually can count upon the regularity of these physical and mechanical considerations, the major variable being the uncertainty of demand—the present situation in the Soviet economy is just the reverse. But, as Soviet economists are pointing out today, to count upon demand is not enough; demand must be studied carefully in order to be coordinated properly into the planned economy. Only then can demand itself be properly planned. The Soviet store manager should know the income, its structure, and its anticipated changes, for the entire population in the vicinity of his store; and he should know from how large a radius customers come to him. Research in this new phase of Soviet planning is just beginning to be undertaken.

THE SOVIET APPROACH TO ARCHITECTURE

**Speech of Mr. Karo S. Alabian, Co-architect of the Soviet Pavilion,
at the reception arranged by the American-Russian Institute
at the Soviet Pavilion on Monday, August 14th**

Following the great Socialist Revolution, there has been a sharp change in the place and meaning of architecture in our country. Before, it was at the service of private taste and private enterprise—of individuals who ordered apartment houses, mansions, warehouses, bank buildings, hotels and so on; today it has become a public concern, the concern of the whole people.

Then the whim of the customer set the style; the customer dictated to the architect; today the architect, serving the interests of the people, serves, at the same time, his own desires. Thus he acts, not as a hired man, but as a citizen who by his art and professional knowledge performs an important civic function, solving problems which concern the whole people. In that lies the difference between the situation of the architect before the revolution and his situation in the Soviet epoch. Then the architect had to bend his art to the demands of his customer; today, in our Soviet country, he can reach the full range of his creative capacity.

The chief goal of Soviet architecture is to create for the whole people. No matter what our project our first care is to serve the needs of the people, to satisfy their artistic demands, to fulfil their ideals.

The basic principles that underlie Soviet architecture are these:

We consider our architecture to be a synthesis of art and technical knowledge. There could be no advanced, no real architecture that ignores the achievements of modern science, of modern technology. Conversely, there can be no real architecture if the construction is deprived of artistic qualities. As you know, there has been a tendency in the last decade to consider architecture a branch of engineering. An architect was considered to have done his architectural job when he cor-

rectly solved the functional and structural problems. This is a negative concept of architecture. It denies the artistic origin of architecture. Time does not permit me to attempt here a detailed discussion of this problem, but I may point out that the entire history of architecture is a disproof of this concept. We, on the contrary, believe that an architecture deprived of the elements of art ceases to be architecture and is bare engineering construction.

Secondly, Soviet architecture holds that no progress is possible that is not based on what is positive and valuable in the past. Hence Soviet architects feel that they are best launched on the road of real socialist architecture when they have utilized the great creations of the past. That does not mean making archeological replicas; it does not mean an antiquarian obsession with architectural monuments; but it means a thorough study of how in the past architecture solved important problems set before it by human demands in different epochs. This study of our architectural heritage, this utilization of the experience of the past, is common to all branches of science and art. The modern poet who does not study the masters of the past, who does not steep himself in Dante, Byron, Heine, Pushkin, Whitman and other masters, imposes a creative handicap upon himself.

A third principle of our Soviet architecture is that, like all our culture, it is national in form and socialist in content. By this we mean neither exotics nor imitation of national styles of the past, but the creation, in each of our national republics, of an architecture that derives organically from the traditions, customs, life conceptions and climatic conditions of the given nationality. Probably you all know what a cultural renaissance occurred among the Soviet peoples, liberated by the revolution. Just as a renascent literature, music and painting that was national in form and socialist in content grew up in our national republics, so the architects of our national republics successfully created an indigenous architecture on these principles.

The Agricultural Exposition in Moscow, dedicated on August first, is the best illustration of this principle, this conception. Here we have architectural construction of the great-

est diversity and color. Making use of motifs from traditional creations and monuments and of the new content brought into life by our revolution, our architects have created striking and individual pavilions, original in form and brilliantly colorful.

The synthesis of other arts with architecture is the next determinant in Soviet architecture. By that we mean the unity of architecture, painting and sculpture. Following the best traditions of classical architecture, we too feel that architecture gains when it is fused in a synthesis with sculpture and painting. I use the word synthesis because I wish to avoid any suggestion of mere mechanical ornamentation. Sculpture and painting have organic functions in architecture; and architectural composition has to account, in its design, for the place, scale and future of the sculpture and painting to be incorporated. On their part the painters and sculptors collaborating on the building have to keep the architectural composition constantly in mind. The work of all has to be, in the fullest sense, a collaboration. Together architects, painters and sculptors create the whole. Greek architects and sculptors have left inspired examples of such artistic synthesis. We think that our Soviet architecture, following this line, creates and will create colorful architectural constructions of great value. I think you have all seen some examples of our experience in this field. We can say that if the stations of the Moscow subway or of the Moscow-Volga canal are a great success and are so considered by our people, it is the result of such collaboration between our architects and painters and sculptors.

Finally, I want to speak of the multiformity of our architecture as another important element of Soviet architecture. We believe that under our conditions no fixed canons, dead laws, can appear to cramp the creative forces of our architects. In our country architects of all tendencies, classicists and constructivists, meet in creative competition — have full opportunity to develop their creative individuality. We feel that Soviet architecture should have this range; and consequently the maximum scope is afforded to the creative aspiration of our architects. Those of you who are familiar with our outstanding architects and their work in recent years know this. You know that in the reconstruction of Moscow and other

cities, architects, representing widely divergent trends, such as Vesnin, Iofan, Zholtovsky, Ginsburg, Golosov, Melnikov and Mordvinov, all have had a part.

All that I have said about Soviet architecture has an illustration in our Soviet Pavilion at the New York World's Fair. Our government set us the task of designing a pavilion which would acquaint the American people with the life, work and achievements of our country, not only in the exhibits but in the architecture as well. This was not an easy task, if you take into consideration the fact that American information about our country, its culture and its achievements had been scanty, to say the least.

Soviet architects and technicians then had to find a form that would express the content of the pavilion. While they provided solutions of functional and structural problems, they had to create an architectural image that would announce itself unmistakably a Soviet creation. We had to give form to the idea, to have architecture and sculpture speak together the message of the brotherly unity of the eleven republics of the Soviet Union. In the architecture of the pavilion can be traced compositional methods of classical architecture applied to the solution of our problems. As you can see, the bas-reliefs of the rear facade of our pavilion, the two sculptural groups before the wings, and the central figure representing Soviet man, raising aloft the ruby Kremlin star, they are not a mechanical application of sculpture, but integral elements of the pavilion design.

I do not wish to embark here on an elaborate analysis of our pavilion, since I prefer that you do it. I merely wished, in a few words, to demonstrate that the designers of our pavilion were following the principles of Soviet architecture outlined above.

There is one thing more I wish to touch on, and that is the standing of the architect in our country. Every year from our numerous institutes of higher education thousands of young architects are graduated. Before the revolution we counted our architects in hundreds, and among them not one woman. Now among our thousands we can count hundreds of women.

The majority of our architects are young. These young architects together with experienced old specialists are successfully coping with the immense assignments of the Soviet construction program. Our government, by organizing state-project-boards, in which all our architectural forces were assembled, sought to stimulate a full collaboration between our young and old specialists. Thus, antagonism between them has been creatively worked out in mutual effort. When there is a "fight," and "fights" often take place, they take the form of re-examination and discussion of creative principles; and such discussion, such "fights" always are wholesome and fruitful.

The Soviet architect in our country is regarded as a man trusted with responsible tasks. Conscious of the unfailing regard and support of the government and of socialist society as a whole, he does his utmost to deserve and justify this high confidence. One can answer the question—what motivates the Soviet architect in his creative work—by saying it is the love of his country and his deep sense of responsibility to his people.

ARROW OF THE DESERT

A Kalmyk Legend

Translated by

ROBERT MAGIDOFF

Yes, it happened before any once-upon-a-time, long before that and even a thousand winters ahead of anything you can think of. The Kalmyks had not yet known misery in Russia, they had not yet made their great exodus out of the Caspian salt-marshes and steppes, when fully two-thirds of the tribes perished at the hands of the Russians and the Kirghiz, and the number of crows and jackals increased three-fold.

The nomad camp was then far beyond the Caspian in the land of Chzhungary, west of mighty China, beyond the second sea of the steppe.

The chief of the tribe, Cholun-Gar — Stone-Hand — had a daughter, but he wanted a son, he wanted a lion cub. Disgrace was the lot of a nomad without a blood-heir — disgrace and misery.

The people said:

"Stone-Hand-Cholun-Gar! You have no heir, and your head is already whiter than apple flowers at blossom time. You can no longer be our chief!"

And they took from him the spear and the round stones—symbols of the chief's power, and made him a slave of the tribe.

Enraged, he tore the panther skin on his shoulders. Before the eyes of all, he spit in the holy well of the tribe from which the people drank and the children and maidens. The lamas cursed him and the shamans cursed him. With sorcery and incantations they transformed the proud old man into a jackal, and he ran off into the desert.

From him sprang the first jackals, the cursed devourers of carrion. That is how long ago it was. He was the first jackal, and the camel had not yet been created.

Such was the punishment meted out to the proud Cholun-Gar, and the memory of this lingers through the centuries.

His daughter wept. Alone she followed the jackal trail of Cholun-Gar into the desert and vanished. The tribe saw her no more.

Whom she met in the desert, who gave her male seed—no one knows. It may have been the mighty eagle of the steppe, keen for a human female, or it may have been the panther, a nomad more ancient than man, than the Kalmyk.

Twenty years ran by. The tribe had forgotten the daughter of Cholun-Gar. Then came a year of misery. A plague mowed down the cattle. The *bey*s and *Khans* forced the poor nomads who had lost their cattle, to work for them like meanest slaves. They scorned the poor and called them *Kharkun*, meaning common herd. They carried off maidens to their tents and after enjoying them sent them back to work.

Then came a day of joy the like of which the world had never known.

On the pastures of the nomad camp appeared a youth, slender as a beam of the midday sun, his eyes like lightning on a stormy night, his hands sinewy as a boa.

The nobles gazed at him, shielding their eyes with their palms, and said:

"Leave us. We shall be blinded looking into your eyes. Our maidens shall be driven mad thinking of you. And we fear your hands. Leave us in peace!"

The chief and the shamans said to him:

"We know you, Kyunde-Gar-Savour — Heavy-Hand. You are the seed of Cholun-Gar. You are Khara-Khul—the black hawk born to dare! Wherefore came you to us, timid nomads, for whom even the milk of a mare is too white?"

Kyunde-Gar, slender as a sunbeam, raised his eyes, and the tribesmen buried theirs in the ground, for none could face the flash of his eyes. None dared look at him as he spoke.

"Yes, I am Khara-Khul, black falcon of courage, born to

dare! In peace I come to the camp. My legs carried me to all the lands of the nomads, but my heart brought me to my own tribe. For thirty days and thirty nights I shall be with you answering the call of my blood, and then I shall tell you what brought me here."

"Be it so," said the tribesmen. "Remain with us for thirty days and thirty nights, and if you leave us then, peace be with you. If you do not, we shall kill you, Kyunde-Gar, for we fear you."

Their words angered him. In rage he drew near the flat-topped boulder that for centuries had its place in front of the chief's tent. On days of *zargo*, days of tribal court, the chief mounted this boulder and judged all who had sinned against the nomad laws.

Not fifty strong men could lift the stone, but Khara-Khul raised it in his heavy hands, and his legs sank to the knee in the sandy soil. With all his strength he flung the stone upon the ground and the ground trembled violently as after fierce thunder, and quivered long, as if in anger. A well appeared on that spot. In it there was icy water in even the most sultry heat, and none ever reached its bottom, no matter how long the rope of camel's hair.

For thirty days and thirty nights Kyunde-Gar remained with his tribe, dwelling alone in a tent erected for him at the chief's order, for none dared share his shelter with him.

He watched the wracking toil of his people, saw quarrels between families and clans, between clans and tribes, and heard the groans of the enslaved.

The cattle had not bred that year, and there were no calves to brand with the tribal mark. Drought had parched the earth, and the lowing cattle searched every shrub, hungrily crunching the dried leaves.

Misfortune and misery haunted the nomad camps.

The shamans, the lamas, the chiefs, and the bearers of arms took for themselves the greatest part of hunt and war booty, calling it offerings to the gods. Healthy prisoners of war they

made their slaves, slaughtering the weak. They carried off maidens, heeding not the lament of mothers and sisters.

Thirty days and thirty nights rustled by like thirty green lizards and thirty black bees. Then came the time for gathering the harvest, but nothing was there to gather, nothing for which to strain hands, backs, and feet of men and maidens.

The chief again summoned the tribe to his tent, and once again Kyunde-Gar-Savour stood among the nomads, awaiting his words.

"Why have you come to us, Khara-Khul, black hawk born to dare? Speak before the tribe and the image of Buddha, the spirit of peaceful Nirvana, the father of life. Have you not brought us more misery this year than we can bear? This year I, the chief, and the shamans, the lamas, and all the servants of the tribe will gather no more than half our tribute. We know not if the guilt be yours, but tell us what spirit brought you, O grandson of Cholon-Gar, cursed by the shamans, what evil spirit brought you to our tents, Khara-Khul?"

Men stared at the ground, fearing to raise their eyes.

Maidens wept, knowing that the youth was to leave their camp.

Said Kyunde-Gar-Savour-Khara-Khul:

"My own people, toilers of the nomad camps! Can you accuse me of the disasters that have overtaken you? Has not misery forever been your lot, inherited from fathers and grandfathers? Have drought and famine, plague and tribal wars never before weighted your lives? Have the violators ravished your maidens only these thirty days that I have been amongst you? Did your greedy and dishonest chief judge you more fairly before I came? Or have lamas and shamans, warriors, guardians over sacred water—your masters who call themselves your servants—have they only now burdened you with tributes they cunningly call offerings?"

None of the nomads knew yet his meaning; all were silent. But each group kept silence in its own way. Shock and anger showed in the eyes of the masters. Shock and hope in the eyes of the slaves and the plain folk.

"Brothers in blood!" continued Khara-Khul, "In my wanderings over many lands I saw old men and women, their eyes bleeding with trachoma, bodies bent under heavy burdens, hands trembling with years of endless toil. Your women are old and withered at thirty, your children know not childhood, and the maidens of your tribe dread the morrow, seeing in wedlock only a living grave.

"Rain and drought, panther and jackal, hunger and ills of the body, lamas and chiefs—these, like the scorching heat of the desert, consume your life. Your hands bleed with toil to which they have condemned you from the day of your birth. Do you cherish this life, my people, O sons and daughters of the desert?"

"He speaks the truth. Wisdom gleams in his words like water in the depths of a well," murmured the slaves, the *chabans* and the hunters.

"Sower of discord!" cried the chief. "You shall suffer death for this!"

"I fear not death!" answered Kyunde-Gar. "The people chose your grandfathers to help in festivals and in toils because of their wisdom. They partook equally in the work, and consumed an equal share of fruit and joy. But, hateful hybrids of sages, hellish offspring of the fifth generation, you have usurped rights to wisdom and are not even snakes.

"Cowardly marmots, you have seized for yourselves offerings, converting them into tribute, increasing them a hundred-fold. You did away with communal tribal property, and thereby brought into the world the poverty and the enslavement of the *baygush*."

"None but Buddha rent asunder the void of the universe and the endlessness of time!" cried the eldest lama, called "Heavenly Mother," and petty lamas dully repeated the words, piously folding their hands.

"Buddha," continued "Heavenly Mother," "has shown us the road of *bodee*, the road to holiness. Buddha rent asunder heavens, earth and the emptiness of hell. On earth he separated

people, stones, plants and animals. And men he divided into *baygush* and *noyons*. You invoke men to enjoy the world of things, matter and flesh. Scion of salamander! Matter generates agony spirit and bars the path to *bodee*."

"Jackal-tongued deceiver!" cried Khara-Khul. "Yours is the wisdom of the butcher who offers carrion as freshly slaughtered ram. The lamas call themselves 'Heavenly Mother,' making the tribesmen believe they have cut themselves off from material things. But the lamas are forcing the nomads to bring them offerings. Offerings to living people! The more precious the gift, the harder for the mortal to part with it, the more cunning are their promises of fleshless joys of nirvana!"

The chief and the lamas were silent. The people grumbled approval of the words of Kyunde-Gar.

"Sons of toil, spent by the plague of blindness and fear! I have come to heal your wounds, but first there is an evil spirit, a one-eyed monster that I must vanquish. He was created by the shamans, was begotten of their fraud and deceit, and they compel you to worship him and bring him offerings. Let us bind the lamas and the shamans. I shall then leave for the mountains and bring to you the only eye of the dragon. I shall blind him and evil will disappear forever from the face of the earth."

"Blind him!" shouted the nomads in joy. "Blind the mountain monster!"

With leather thongs they bound the shamans and threw them into a tent. Likewise they did with the lamas.

"Brothers in blood!" said Khara-Khul. "I shall soon return and be one of you. You will give me Sen-Belick to wife, the daughter of the *baygush* Sandjo, the incomparable Sen-Belick, the star of life. Who dares say a maiden of equal beauty can be found in the nomad camps?"

None dared, for, verily, Sen-Belick was beautiful. Khara-Khul thus sang of her to the people of his tribe:

"She is tall and supple as a date-palm, she, a daughter of the midday sun!

"Her hair—a crown of shade that fades not in the tall sun-beam trembling in the blue.

"Stars dream of her eyes. Consumed by passion they fall to the feet of Sen-Belick, leaving a trace of fire across the sky.

"Her breasts—two youthful moons full of rich milky light.

"Her lips—the murmurings of a stream to one who thirsts in the desert.

"Her thighs—winds of the steppes, refreshing one's body, carrying generations of the future in her loins.

"Her womb—more fruitful than mountains holding gold, silver and diamonds, iron, coal and copper!"

Yes, no one had ever spoken to the nomads as had Kyunde-Gar. They listened to him, forgetting their sorrows. And he continued, stirring the hearts of the people.

"I have not chosen her to be my slave. There will be no more slaves. We shall all work alike, and our *kibitkas* will become refuges of mirth and abundance!"

He wrested the spear from the chief's hands—the symbol of power in the tribe. As was the custom of the patriarchs, by thrusting the spear into the ground at the entrance to his tent, the chief would give the signal to set up camp or move on.

Suddenly a giant eagle soared over the nomad camp. The lightest clouds fluttering under him seemed no bigger than jay feathers. The eagle soared high above them, and still the nomads distinguished his beak.

Kyunde-Gar swung and sent the spear winging toward the eagle. It vanished quickly from sight, and seemed to be carried away by the wind. Time passed, but the eagle still soared over the camp, victorious and unhurt.

Loud laughed the chief:

"Foolish Kyunde-Gar! Can a dart reach an eagle?"

The eagle swung its wings, gracefully circled three times over the nomad camps, cutting the sunny height, and again soared over them, its wings outspread.

"O, foolish Kyunde-Gar-Savour! No spear can reach an eagle!"

"Hold your tongue!" shouted the rejoicing nomads. "Or have you lost your sight?"

The eagle staggered above the clouds, his heart pierced. Air streamed after him like water by the stern of a boat made of buffalo skin. He fell, tearing clouds along his way, growing in size before the eyes of the nomads. Kyunde-Gar caught him in mid-air, but so great was the weight of the eagle that he was thrown to the ground. With the chief's sword Khara-Khul cut off the wings, and fastened them to his shoulders and forearms with straps made of the skin of a wild bear.

"Farewell!" he shouted ascending toward the skies. "Dare not free the shamans lest they bring offerings to the mountain monster, or I will be lost."

Then, midway between earth and sky, he cried:

"Watch over Sen-Belick! I shall return with my prize in three days."

He sped on to the Pamirs—the Roof of the World, to the cave-dwelling of the spirit. A pair of stars, his two eyes, shone upon the tribe.

Suddenly they were veiled from the sight of the nomads. A terrifying sand storm darkened the world. All space was filled with whirling, roaring, whistling sand.

The wings of the eagle were huge, and powerful the arms of Savour, but it grew ever harder to fly against the storm.

The rush of the sand at last reached such fury that Khara-Khul ceased moving in space, though he strained with the full strength of his muscles. Sand and winds tore feathers from his wings, and hurled them at the nomads waiting down below for Kyunde-Gar. The wings of the eagle were dead. Withered under the smouldering sand, no longer could they hold up the dead feathers.

At the camp the chief now spoke:

"See, nomads, how much eagle feather has been swept in by the wind. The wings are now bare as bald heads of old men, as

the shaven scalps of the lamas. The wings can no longer hold Kyunde-Gar in air. He will fall, and the sands will forever bury him under their weight. Sands will sweep away our camp and our people will perish, and the remnants of cattle. Thus the mountain spirit punishes us. Let us free the shamans that they may offer sacrifice."

The *noyons* supported the chief:

"His words are just and wise. The sands of the *samum* will bury our cattle, dwellings and wells!"

But the hunters, the *chabans* and the slaves said:

"It is not true. Let us wait for three days, as we promised Kyunde-Gar."

And the women said:

"Let us wait for three days. He will come back and our life will change forever."

The storm swept new blankets of sand over the wells, the cattle and the tents.

The *baygush*, the hunters of wild boars and panthers, the women and the shepherds yielded. The chief freed the shamans and the lamas. In triumph they shouted:

"The mountain spirit has avenged us! He now demands sacrifice. Let us appease him with Sen-Belick, and the storm will be stilled. The sands will fall gently to our feet, and the haughty Kyunde-Gar-Savour-Khara-Khul will perish!"

Men of power supported the shamans rejoicingly, even as the lamas. The nomads kept silence in terror. The shamans seized Sen-Belick. A fire was lit. . . .

Khara-Khul was struggling for breath in the smoke of the fire consuming his Sen-Belick, the incomparable star of life.

The sand storm fell, for the spirit of evil—the one-eyed dragon in the mountain cave, had exhausted the wind in his breast. But the shamans said rejoicingly that it had become calm once more because of the power of their sorcery.

Yes, the wings of the eagle lost their feathers. Scarcely could they carry Kyunde-Gar now. Thirst tormented him, but no cloud came to spare even a drop of moisture. Lack of sleep

harassed him and hunger tortured him. He lost his strength and senses, and fell at the opening to the dragon's cave. The monster seized Khara-Khul by the shoulders, raised him and flung him down.

"Now you are in my power!" thundered the mountain spirit.

"You will hear no plea for mercy, wicked one-eyed snake!" said Khara-Khul.

The dragon went within, and from the cave he thrust Sen-Belick who had been sacrificed to him by the shamans. Then Kyunde-Gar understood.

Bathed in the altar's purifying fire, Sen-Belick seemed more radiant than ever. In her hand she held a turtle-shell chalice brimming with a cool liquid.

"A word from you and you shall be a great shaman, and have Sen-Belick as wife. I am old and I am ready for rest. I shall yield to you my place on the Roof of the World. Shamans will bring you offerings, burn incense and dance in your name."

The spirit was breathless with desire that Khara-Khul, he who was born to dare, should yield to him. There stood Sen-Belick, the chalice in her hands, ready to quench his thirst.

"No!" said Kyunde-Gar. "Not in a thousand years!"

"You yourself have set the time for your punishment, proud Khara-Khul. It will last a thousand years. And for a thousand years will Sen-Belick receive me on a nuptial bed of lizards and scorpions. And the scorpions will sting her and the lizards will yield stench!"

"Breathe revenge, monster! I fear you not, revolting one-eyed snake!"

Sen-Belick gasped:

"Must I writhe in flame, breathe the stench of vile lizards, suffer the sting of scorpions, be violated by the monster for a thousand years? Cursed be the shamans who punished me for your deeds!"

"A word from you, Kyunde-Gar," said Sen-Belick, "and you shall be a great shaman. Men betrayed us. Are they worthy of sacrifice?"

"I shall not betray men even as they betrayed us in their blindness. Their tears and the sweat of their toil will soon rise to these heights and flood the monster in a second deluge."

"Why am I to suffer?" pleaded Sen-Belick.

"You grieve me, daughter of the midday sun," said Kyunde-Gar. "But the misery of man pierces my heart with yet bitterer sorrow. I cannot yield."

"Enough!" shouted the spirit of revenge and evil. "Cease, son of panther and woman. You will speak no more. I have conceived a punishment which would strike terror even into the heart of your grandfather whom my shamans turned into a jackal. I shall make of you a monster such as the world has never seen. You will envy the carrion torn to bits by hyenas."

The one-eyed dragon of the mountains looked at Kyunde-Gar and chanted:

"You sought to be a leader among men; you will be their meanest beast of burden.

"You were fair; I shall make you ungainly. Birds, marking you from their heights, will in fright avoid the earth for three days and three nights.

"You were slender as a beam of the midday sun; I shall twist every muscle in your body.

"Your eyes were akin to lightning in a stormy night; they will stare with eternal slavery."

The eyes of Khara-Khul began to fade.

"Your hair that once drove maidens to madness will now hang across your body like lumps of felt. They will be more horrible than pauper's sack-cloth, than a leper's rags."

Shapeless lumps of wool covered the magnificent body of Savour.

"Your arms were as sinewy as a boa. I shall turn them into legs ugly and twisted as the body of a dervish."

Ugly legs replaced the exquisite arms of Kyunde-Gar.

"Your fingers will become shapeless hoofs."

There he was standing on hoofs resembling a jackdaw's nest.

"I shall crush your pride. A child will lead you by a strap running through your ugly nostrils, and you will follow it timidly. You will eat *saksaul*, the bitter, thorny shrub of the desert, and the bitter water of the salty *ariks* will quench your thirst only once every thirty days."

"Have mercy," pleaded Sen-Belick.

"Mercy for him? See how proud he still is!"

He pointed at the indescribable creature that once was Khara-Khul, and said:

"No! Yet more is to be done."

The monster thought, dripping saliva of stench and poison, while Sen-Belick writhed at his feet.

The dragon raised its head and cried:

"You dared fix eagle wings to your shoulders, to soar over the earth, and sought to pluck my only eye. You, born to be trampled in dust! I shall crown you with such deformity that the tambourines of their own accord will jingle in the hands of the shamans, and the laughter of mountains will burst into a thirty-fold echo. Two humps, two monstrous humps will I place on your back!"

The dragon swung his scaled, rattling tail over Kyunde-Gar, and two humps hung heavily on his back.

"Men shall call my monster 'camel,' meaning 'it cannot be'."

Before Sen-Belick stood the finished creation of hate. It was moving its bare, old woman's lips, chewing imaginary cud. The skies wept over the misery of Kyunde-Gar, and in the streams of rain he seemed yet more monstrous.

But love can turn even cobble stones into roses. And such was the love of Sen-Belick for Saviour! She looked into his eyes and thought them beautiful.

Man! Look into the eyes of a camel!

Through them stares the sadness and wisdom of ages, the imperishable wisdom of time.

Eyes of a patriarch! Eyes foretelling the liberation of mankind from distress and slavery!

Bewitched by the depth of those eyes, she stood oblivious to the ghoulish laughter of the mountain spirit. Probing into them, she lived through an eternity of wisdom, all the thousand thousand years of captivity and torture, although but a few seconds had passed.

Man! Look into the eyes of a camel!

In the depths of those eyes Sen-Belick saw the Kyunde-Gar of the future. Out of the deformed humps again grew the mighty wings of an eagle. They were of a silvery metal for which she knew no name. Kyunde-Gar soared in the blue, the entire tribe following him on silvery wings.

He was again slender as a beam of the midday sun. His eyes again flashed like lightning on a stormy night. His magnificent arms were outstretched toward her.

She ran to the camel, and flung her arms about its neck. Khara-Khul caught her up so that she landed on the saddle-back of his humps. Then they dashed away, the wind roaring in their ears. The camel fled carrying from the monster his innocent prey.

Arrow of the desert!

What wind can overtake a camel flying across the sands?

What nomad can live without a camel?

Sen-Belick sang:

"You are magnificent, Kyunde-Gar-Savour-Khara-Khul! You are a cloud rushing at the sun!

"Your coat is warm and tender as the green of a shady oasis!

"Your eyes are soft and gentle.

"You will yet soar over the Pamirs, over the Roof of the World, and pluck out the only eye of the spirit of evil and hatred.

"The tribes will forever do away with the *noyons*, shamans, and lamas, and freedom will take the nomad under its wing!

"Kyunde-Gar-Savour-Khara-Khul, arrow of the desert, a cloud rushing at the sun!"

SOME NOTES ON ORIENTAL STUDIES IN THE SOVIET UNION

By

MORTIMER GRAVES

By any test, scientific work as carried on in the Soviet Union in most of the fields which provoke man's curiosity is impressive. Unfortunately it is in general too little known even to workers in the same fields in the western world. This is no less true with respect to the scientific study of the Orient than it is with respect to medicine, physics, or the natural sciences. Those of us who have tried on the basis of intermittent information and desultory rumor to keep some record of these activities and to make a coherent picture from it have had our task lightened by the recent celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet State, which has been the occasion for recapitulation by Soviet scholars themselves of the progress made in the various disciplines since 1917. One such is a report of the activities of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences, published in the *Vestnik* of the Academy, Nos. 10 and 11, 1937. The survey of Oriental Studies in the Soviet Union which follows is based upon this report, though it is supplemented by vagrant notes gathered over the past decade, by personal observation at the several centers of Oriental study in the Union, and general reading of the scholarly publications generously furnished by Soviet Orientalists.

It is only fair to remark that all Oriental studies in the Soviet Union are not carried on by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences. It is true that this Institute in Leningrad is the central and principal body devoted to the cultivation of this field, but a very great deal of work is also done by local groups and institutions, particularly in the Asiatic region of the Union, and particularly in such subjects as ethnology, anthropology, folklore and folksong, linguistics, and local history. A complete picture would present and evaluate

MORTIMER GRAVES is Executive Secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies.

these efforts; but within the modest compass of this present article no such ambitious plan is contemplated.

Russian scientific interest in the Orient is, of course, not of recent growth; there is behind it more than two centuries of tradition. Early interest in the eighteenth century was largely geographic and ethnographic; in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, a considerable school of Oriental studies grew up in Kazan; in the third quarter, the leadership passed to Petersburg in the Asiatic Museum and the Faculty of Oriental Languages in the University where it took on the philological and, later, archaeological tinge which most study of the Orient has retained to the present day. The Soviet scholar feels that Oriental studies in pre-revolutionary times were conditioned by missionary activity and the colonial politique of the Tsarist regime; in the extreme case, he regards them as only a manifestation of bourgeois colonial exploitation. To him, the study of the internal history of the numerous nations of Asia, of the revolutionary struggles of proletariat and peasantry, of the languages and literatures as social phenomena, or the monuments of national material and intellectual culture, and the utilization of such study in the social construction of the new state is the function of the Orientalist rather than philological investigations in the ancient languages of the East, which he tends somewhat slightly to denominate "pure-science."

On the whole, it can hardly be denied that this widening of the Orientalist's horizon has been healthful to Asiatic studies. Thanks to it we are already beginning to have a clearer picture of the course of history over the Asiatic continent, particularly during the more recent centuries. Further, since the contribution of the Orientalist now bears a more obvious relation to understanding the life of the Union, Oriental studies have lost some of the stigma of esotericism which they formerly possessed. This shift in emphasis is something which might well be noted by Western scholars of Asia, even if they do not feel impelled to emulate it. However, in the Union, scholars like Oldenburg, Vladimirtsov, *et al*, nurtured in the earlier tradition, could not — as Owen Lattimore has pointed out — effortlessly turn themselves into Marxist historians and write Marxist histories. They compromised by con-

cerning themselves with social phenomena which would previously have been beneath the dignity of the Orientalist, and their compromise enriched their studies.

The fear that the older generation of scholars might revert to an older tradition of scholarship probably had something to do with the replacement of the earlier structure of Oriental studies in Leningrad (the Asiatic Museum, the College of Oriental Studies, the Institute of Buddhistic Culture, the Turcological Seminar, etc.) by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences, a unified, all-embracing institution for scientific research in the internal history, economic and social history, language, literature, folklore, philosophy, and ideology of the Orient within and without the Soviet Union throughout the whole period of the development of human society. This body, organized in 1930 and given its present structure in 1936 by a decision of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences, is an association of twelve groups known as "Cabinets," each of which has at its head an academician, a corresponding member, or a professor in one of the institutes. The twelve Cabinets are: Central Asiatic, Caucasian, Chinese, Japan-Korean, Mongol and Buriat, Indo-Tibetan, Modern Indic, Turkish, Iranian, Arabic, Ancient Oriental, and the Manuscript Section.

Within the Cabinets there are at work upwards of eighty scholars, members of the Academy, professors, "aspirants" for the doctorate, and scientific workers of several classes. These utilize, in the fifty-five Oriental languages represented there, the collections of the Institute, including: (1) a scientific library of half a million volumes; (2) a manuscript section containing forty thousand items; (3) a magnificent archive of the materials of scientific Orientalists and institutions. Their research appears in published form in the *Bibliografia Vostoka*, the *Zapiski* of the Institute, and the *Trudy* of the Institute. The first, which has run to ten numbers (an eleventh is reported as in press), contains bibliographical articles, surveys, descriptions of manuscript deposits, critical, descriptive bibliographies (for instance, a bibliography of Chinese sources for the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion), and book reviews. The second is devoted to scientific articles and the seventh number (1939)

has just been published; the third is a series, volumes devoted to special studies, of which about thirty numbers have appeared.

Around the Institute there have grown up several societies of scholars interested in particular fields, which play somewhat the same role as American learned societies of the associational type. They meet for the reading of scientific papers, for discussion, for the exchange of information upon scientific work in the Orient, etc. Active among them is, for instance, the Association of Arabists, under the presidency of I. Yu. Krachkovskii, certainly one of the world's leading scholars in the Islamic field and an authority on modern Arabic literature in particular. At the first meeting of this association, Krachkovskii himself read a quite extraordinary paper setting forth the development of Arabic studies during recent decades and the place which Soviet studies in this field might occupy in the future. He urged that attention be devoted especially to the Arabic populations within the Union, the great and unexploited collections of Arabic materials in Soviet depositories, and the contributions of Arabic to Slavic civilization. At its second session in 1937, the Association celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet Revolution together with the nine hundredth anniversary of the death of the great Central Asiatic thinker and compatriot of Soviet Arabists, Avicenna (ibn-Sina).

The Institute has defined its aims as: (1) research in the problems of the civil history, the economic and social history, and the history of the culture of all lands of the Soviet and extra-Soviet Orient; (2) assistance to the development of the languages and literatures of the nations of the Soviet East by the solution of their linguistic problems, the publication of dictionaries, grammars, etc.; (3) provision of tools for the study of the East by the publication of critical and annotated translations of the most important historical, literary, and philosophical monuments of the region. While the mere listing of projects and publications provides but dull reading, there seems no better way of indicating the means by and the extent to which these aims are being fulfilled. Some of the more interesting enterprises are consequently indicated below:

1. *Study of the nations of the Soviet East and assistance to them in cultural and linguistic development.*

A. Publication of texts and materials.

1. Materials for the history of the Karakalpaks, published as "Materialy po istorii Karakalpakov: Sbornik," *Trudy* VII, 1935, 299 pp.

2. Materials for the history of Georgia in the epoch of Queen Tamar, by K. D. Dondua. Dondua (Karpez Dorispan) is a Georgian scholar, born in Kutais in 1890. He has recently published a hitherto unknown manuscript on the life of Queen Tamar. He is a scientific collaborator of first-class in the Marr Institute and in the Oriental Institute and his field is Caucasian Studies, Armeno-Georgian Philology, and South Caucasian Languages.

3. Arabic sources for the history of the nations of the USSR. Kovalevskii has ready for press the manuscript of an edition of the work of Ahmad ibn-Fadlān ibn-Hammād, who was sent in 921 to the King of the Bulgars on the Volga by al-Muqtadir and who has left us the earliest reliable account of Russia, published in Yāqūt.

4. Twelfth Century Khorezm Manuscripts, edited and published by A. A. Freiman. Alexander Arnold Freiman was born in Warsaw in 1879. He is a professor of Iranistics, Linguistics, and the Ossetic and Persian Languages in the Oriental Institute.

5. Text and translation with notes and critical apparatus of the work of the great fourteenth century Persian historian Rashīd al-Dīn. The completed work will consist of four volumes of text and four volumes of translation with notes. The publication is under the editorial direction of E. E. Bertels. Eugene Edward Bertels, born in 1890 in St. Petersburg, is curator and professor in the Oriental Institute in Iranian Studies and the history and methodology of Persian Literature.

6. Re-edition of Tisinghausen's History of the Golden Horde by A. A. Romaskevich. Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Romaskevich was born in 1885 in Odessa. He is professor of Iranian philology in Leningrad and has a principal interest in the history of literature and in folklore and ethnography.

7. Materials on the language of the Central Asiatic Arabs by G. V. Tsereteli and I. N. Vinnikov. Georgii Vasilevich Tsereteli is a young Georgian, born in 1904 near Tiflis. He is a candidate for the doctorate in linguistics and Semitics in Leningrad. Isaak Natanovich Vinnikov is scientific collaborator of the first-class in the Leningrad Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology. He is a scholar of primitive society and Islamics.

8. Edition of a series of eighteenth and nineteenth century annalistic chronicles of the Mongols, published, for instance, as:

"Letopisi Khorinskikh Buriat," *Trudy* IX (Part I. N. N. Poppe; Part II. V. A. Kazakevich)

"Letopisi Selenginskikh Buriat," *Trudy* XII, 1936, (N. N. Poppe)

"Letopisi Barguzinskikh Buriat," *Trudy* VIII, (A. I. Vostrikov and N. N. Poppe)

B. Research in special topics in the history of the Soviet East.

1. The Kytai-Kipchak Rebellion of 1823, by P. P. Ivanov, published as "Vosstanie Kytai-Kipchakov v Bukharskom Khanstve" (1821-25), *Trudy*, XXVIII, 1937. Pavel Petrovich Ivanov, born in Tobolsk in 1893, is a specialist in history of Central Asia.

2. History of the origin and development of the feudal city in Central Asia in the XI to XIV centuries, by A. Yu. Yakubovskii. Aleksandr Yurevich Yakubovskii is a member of the Academy of Material Culture, professor in the Hermitage and docent in the Oriental Institute. His field is history and archaeology of Central Asia and Persia.

3. The feudal organization of the Khartili in the period of the Marzbans. This study of an important period in the history of Armenia under the direction of a scholar named Eremyan is now ready for the press.

C. Assistance to the nations of the Soviet East in their cultural and linguistic development.

This work consists of the development of alphabets for the non-alphabetic languages, the making of scientific grammars and dictionaries for the linguistic minorities, and the publication of materials in the national *epos*.

1. Grammar of the Dungan Language by A. A. Dragunov, the first part of which is ready for press. Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Dragunov was born in 1900 in St. Petersburg. He is a scientific collaborator of the first-class in the Oriental Institute and the author of many articles.

2. Grammar of the Uighur tongue, S. E. Malov and A. K. Borovkov. These scholars have published numerous articles on the subject in the *Zapiski* of the Institute and other organs. Sergei Efimovich Malov was born in 1880 in Kazan. He is a librarian in the State Public Library in Leningrad, and his principal scholarly interests are in Turcology, ancient Turkish, and the speeches of Siberia and Central Asia. Aleksandr Konstantinovich Borovkov is a specialist in the Uzbek language in the Oriental Institute.

3. Grammar of the Buriat-Mongol language by N. N. Poppe, already published. Nikolai Nikolaevich Poppe was born in 1897. He is a very prolific scholar of Mongol language and literature and a linguist, according to Paul Pelliot, of first order. He is a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences, and scientific curator and professor in the Institute.

4. Edition of Mukaddimat al-Adab's Fourteenth Century Mongol-Turkish Dictionary by N. N. Poppe. First volume was published as "Mongolskii Slovar Mukhaddimat al-Adab," I-II, *Trudy* XIV, 1938.

5. Buriat-Mongol folklore and dialectological collection and the Khalkha-Mongol heroic epos by N. N. Poppe, published as "Buriat-Mongolskii folklorny i dialektologicheskii sbornik," *Trudy* XXI, and "Khalka-Mongolski Geroicheski Epos," *Trudy* XXVI, 1937.

6. Abkhaz-Russian Dictionary by A. N. Genko. Anatolii Nestorovich Genko was born in St. Petersburg in 1896. He is scientific curator in the Institute and professor of linguistics and Caucasian languages.

D. Bibliographies of works on the Soviet East

A Bibliography of the Bibliography of Central Asia by Bisnek and Shafranovskii has been published; a bibliography of the Caucasus is being prepared by Gorodetskii and a bibliography of Buriat-Mongolia by T. A. Burdukova.

II. Study of the cultures of oriental nations outside of the Soviet Union.

A. Mongolia

1. The social structure of the Mongols: Mongol nomad feudalism, by Academician B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, published posthumously as *Oshchestvennyi Stroi Mongolov*, 1934, 223 pp.

2. Translation of the Khalkha-Dzhirum, Mongol law of the XVII-XVIII centuries.

3. The Mongol Heroic Epos: the tale of Khan Kharangu, by G. D. Sandzheev. This work has been published. Garma Dantsaran Sandzheev was born in 1902 near Irkutsk. He is an assistant in the Oriental Institute in the field of the oral literature and ethnography of the Buriats and the Mongols.

4. Edition of a Ming dynasty Chinese-Mongol Dictionary, by B. I. Pankratov.

5. Edition of the *Yuan Ch'ao Pi Shih* (Secret History of the Mongols), a monument of Mongol historical literature, by S. A. Kozin. Sergei Andrevich Kozin was born in 1879 in Chernomorsk Gub. He is a docent in Mongol studies in the Institute in Leningrad. The work has gone to press.

B. China

1. Publication of Bichurin's translation of the *T'ung Ch'ien Kang Mu*, by a group of scholars under the direction of Academician V. M. Alekseev. Two volumes of the work are completed but not yet published; the remaining fourteen will be completed during the next five years. Vasili Mikhailovich Alekseev, born in St. Petersburg in 1881, is the leading Russian sinologist of the present day. He is professor in the Oriental Institute and principally interested in literature (poetry) and the theory of the study of Chinese language.

2. Studies in agrarian movements and agrarian legislation in Western China, particularly Sinkiang, by L. I. Duman and others. Lazar Isaevich Duman was born in 1909 in Petrograd. His doctoral dissertation is entitled "Agrarnaya Politika Tsinskogo Pravitelstva v Sintsiane v kontse XVIII veka," and was published as *Trudy* XX, 1936.

3. Studies in the colonial subjugation of China by the Western Powers, by V. M. Shtein. Viktor Moritz Shtein, born in 1890 in Nikolaev, is a professor in the Oriental Institute and in the Institute of Planning. His specialties include the economics of Asiatic countries and the development of capitalism in Asia.

4. Studies in Chinese philosophy: Wang Pi and Wang Ch'ung, by A. A. Petrov. Apollon Aleksandrovich Petrov was born in Wilno in 1907. His doctoral dissertation on Wang Pi, entitled "Van Bi (226-249): iz istorii Kitaiskoi Filosofii," was published as *Trudy* XIII, in 1936.

5. Studies in and translations and editions of the *I Ching* and the *Shu Ching*, by the Chinese Cabinet under V. M. Alekseev.

6. Bibliography of China, 1930-35. This is a continuation of the *Bibliografiia Kitaii* (1725-1930), by P. E. Skachkov, which is a bibliography of all works in the Russian language concerned with China, and published from the time of the founding of the Academy in 1725.

C. Japan

1. Materials for the history of the Civil War in the Meiji era, by N. I. Konrad and others. Nikolai Iosifovich Konrad was born in 1891. He is a scientific collaborator of the first-class in the Institute, and his special field is Japanology.

2. Dictionaries, glossaries, and grammars of the Japanese language, by a group under the direction of N. I. Konrad, including a major Japanese-Russian dictionary and a glossary of military-feudal terms.

This work, by Aleksandr Alekseevich Kholodovich, has been published. The author was born in 1906 and is an assistant in the Institute. He is by profession a linguist with a special interest in the Japanese language.

3. Translation of the *Manyoshu* (Japanese classical poetry of the eighth century), by A. E. Gluskina. Anna Evgenia Gluskina, born in 1904 in Tobolsk, is a scientific collaborator of the first-class in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology, with a special interest in Japan.

4. A Bibliography of Japan, books and articles in the Russian language, 1734-1834, by Matveev, now ready for printing.

5. A similar Bibliography on Korea by N. V. Kiunner. Nikolai Vasilevich Kiunner, born in 1877, is professor of the history, geography, and ethnography of the Far East in the Leningrad Institute.

D. India

1. Preparation of a series of dictionaries in Modern Indic languages, Hindi-Russian, Urdu-Russian, Mahratta-Russian, Bengali-Russian, etc. under the general editorial direction of A. P. Barannikov. Aleksei Petrovich Barannikov, born in 1890 near Poltava, is professor in the Institute of Indianistics (linguistics, literature, and ethnography).

2. Buddhist Logic, the philosophy of the school of the Yogachars, translation with commentary of the grammatical tractate, *Laghu Siddhānta Kaumudī* (the first into an European language), by Academician F. I. Shcherbatskoi. Fedor Ippolyte Shcherbatskoi, born in 1866, in St. Petersburg, is chairman of the Tibetan Cabinet in the Institute and professor of Indology and Buddhist Philology. He is a world-known figure in his field.

3. Studies in the contemporary literature of India by A. P. Barannikov and a Russian translation of the *Rāmāyāna* of Tul'sa Das (sixteenth century), by the same scholar.

E. The Near East (Turkey, Iran, Arabic countries, Abyssinia)

1. A scientific description of Arabic papyri in the USSR by V. I. Beliaev.

2. A Dictionary of Arabic National Dialects in the Near East by Ya. S. Vilenchik.

3. A translation of the *Kītab al-Kharāj* of abu-Yūsuf, by A. E. Shmidt.

4. A biobibliographical dictionary of Russian Arabists.

5. Arabic culture in Spain by I. Yu. Krachkovskii.

6. The socio-economic structure of ancient Turkish society (VI-VII centuries), by A. N. Bernshtam.

7. Socio-economic structure of Hebrew society in Syria and Iraq from the II to the V century, by Yu. A. Solodukho.

The enterprises listed above are only a selection of those reported to be under way. The fact that their results are constantly appearing in print forbids us to believe that they are enterprises in idea only. The tabulation suffices to show the wide range of Soviet interest in the East, the planned production of tools for study and research in this area, the concern with the historical background as well as with the present-day thought of the peoples in question, and the emergence of a productive school of younger scholars. Most of the materials presented above are now at least a year old; in the interval there has undoubtedly been a slackening in the appearance of

published work. It is to be hoped that this is an accidental phenomenon soon to be a thing of the past. The absence of work in certain fields much cultivated abroad, for instance the fine-arts, is to be noted.

One could find, especially in introductions, forewords, and survey articles, support for the thesis that scholarship is made to serve other than scholarly ends. On the other hand, the effect of this defect, if it be one, can be very easily exaggerated. It is compensated by a certain freshness and vigor which come from the work of people who are consciously not adhering to older patterns.

Soviet scholars suffer from lack of close contact with scholars in the same disciplines abroad. To a less degree scholars in Western Europe and America are handicapped by the absence of Soviet scholarship from their own community. Even the mutual representation of published works in the libraries is poor. This mere mechanical defect could, with a little care, be easily remedied. A first step might be the organization of more general exchange of publications, an exchange for which Soviet scholars are most eager. Perhaps the day is not too far distant when Soviet Orientalists will appear at the International Congress of Orientalists and even at the universities in Europe and America, as exchange professors or visiting lecturers. Then we can begin to cease thinking of Soviet study of the Orient as something apart and to appreciate it for what it is—a part of the Occidental attempt to comprehend the experience, the lessons, and the promise for the future of the civilizations of Asia.

DENTISTRY IN THE USSR

By

ALFRED J. ASGIS

Soviet dental education is of interest to American readers for two main reasons: we want to know, first, how dentists are educated in a country where a socialist society is emerging; second, what is taking place in dentistry in terms of theory and practice in the land where health security for all the people is the direct concern of the government. Dentistry in European countries and especially in the Soviet Union is frequently alluded to in the literature of the profession. Statements have been made that the education of dentists there is superior to our own. Others contend that European dental education is inferior because it is under the domination of the medical profession. Since these varying shades of opinion may have some influence on dental opinion in America, a study of dentistry and dental education in the Soviet Union was undertaken with a view to clarifying some problems pertinent to this investigation.¹ Developments in Soviet dental education will here be discussed with respect to (a) dentistry in the Soviet Union in general, (b) dental education, and (c) the growth of the dental profession in the Soviet Union.

In recent writing, references have been made to European countries where the system of dental education differs from ours.² The countries mentioned usually are Germany, Austria, Hungary, France, Czechoslovakia, USSR, and Italy.³ Two systems of dental education are in existence in foreign countries, the *autonomous* and the *stomatologic*. The autonomous system is analogous to the one that prevails at present in the United States. The stomatologic system is in vogue in Italy, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Soviet Russia. This system of

1. This refers to the doctoral dissertation from which the material in this article is taken.

2. Wilson, Netta A., *Alfred Owre: Dentistry's Militant Educator*. University of Minnesota Press, 1937.

3. Authentic reports on dental education and legislation throughout the world were published by two official international societies of dentists, The Association Stomatologique Internationale (A.S.I.) and the Federation Dentaire Internationale (F.D.I.). cf. Beretta, Arturo, *Il Congresso Internazionale di Stomatologia*, Bologna, Italy, 1936, and Cieszynski, Antoni, *The Enlargement of Dental Training in Stomatology*, F.D.I. Report, Lwow, Poland, 1936.

dental education maintains dentistry in those countries as (a) a separately organized specialty in medicine with special graduate education in dentistry, analogous to gastroenterology, proctology, otology, etc., (b) a fully recognized and accredited medical specialty identical with other specialties of the practice of medicine, and (c) a profession that requires the full and complete medical qualification and medical degree for admission to the dental school. In no European country has the so-called "level-technician" (master-servant) plan been introduced or tried.⁴ The autonomous or stomatologic systems are in operation in the countries mentioned and where social insurance has been established. It should also be noted that in some countries the two systems co-exist alongside of each other.⁵ The system of dental education in the Soviet Union is stomatologic, modified somewhat to meet current conditions due to the shortage of dentists. The "level-technician" plan as such, has never been tried nor proposed there, even under emergencies.

The system of dental and medical practice in Soviet Russia is generally designated as socialized or state medicine, which implies, first, free medical care for all the people; second, it also means direct employment by the state of medical personnel on a salary basis; third, dentists, physicians, and other personnel must naturally become unionized for professional protection. In the USSR dental practice is carried on in centralized group practices, or what we call clinics, which are located near all factories in which a large number of workers are engaged, as well as in residential areas. It should be remembered that the clinic system as such is resorted to as an economic expedient and that the practice of dentistry itself maintains the personal relationship between the practitioner and patient.

Private practice was never forbidden in Soviet Russia. If it has a limited existence there, it is apparently not due to any government restrictions placed on the building of a private

4. The "Level-Technician" plan divides dentistry into two parts, a *biological* and a so-called *mechanical*. Such proposals were made in America by the late Dean Owie and others. Harvard University is inaugurating a stomatologic plan for dental education to take effect in 1940.

5. Proctor, Charles M., "Harvard Ends Dental School After Seventy Years," *Oral Hygiene*, 29:8, 935-943 (Aug.) 1939.

medical or dental practice. It is due to the improvement of the public medical services, furnished by the state. These public medical services make it unnecessary for patients to seek care at the private offices of physicians. Besides, there is little need for paying money for a service, rendered privately, when the same quality and quantity of services needed can be obtained free-of-charge.

Dental service in the Soviet Union is part of the entire Soviet public health system and all workers are entitled to receive free dental care. Dental departments for adults are mostly a part of the unified dispensary system which takes care of the prophylactic service in the respective districts. Thus the work of dentists is planned not as an independent health measure, but represents one of the many component parts of the general health program. The establishment of free dental clinics to provide the people with needed and formerly neglected medical care was the first measure adopted by the October Revolution. Before the conclusion of the Civil War, in 1921, there were in the RSFSR about 1,881 public dental clinics with a staff of 2,034 dentists. Of this number, 656 clinics were in the rural areas, with 751 dentists. By the end of 1927, there were 6,500 dentists employed by the State, which exceeded the total number for the entire population under the Tsarist regime.

The clinics today include those for insured workers, school clinics, clinics of the collective farms, Red Army clinics, those attached to Maternity Homes and Child Welfare Centers, to the police and prisons. The number of persons treated in public dental clinics in the early expansion period of dental care is significant.

TABLE I
DENTAL SERVICES RENDERED IN THE SOVIET UNION
FROM 1924-1927 INCLUSIVE

<i>Year</i>	<i>Persons Treated</i>	<i>Attendance</i>
1924	2,168,257	6,934,913
1925	3,285,333	10,861,356
1926	3,718,090	12,519,443
1927	4,570,976	14,686,273

Table I shows the progress that was made prior to the inauguration of the first Five-Year Plan and the industrializa-

tion process of the country. Since 1927, the increase in distribution of dental services has been most rapid. In 1936, over 30,000,000 persons received dental care. An effort is being made to provide each person with at least *one annual prophylactic dental treatment*.

Dental service for children is rendered in special children's dental departments, which in most cases are branches of the children's general ambulatory units. The basic problem of the ambulatory dental departments for children is the introduction of prophylactic measures among organized groups of children. Eighty to ninety per cent of urban school children in the Soviet Union are covered by these stations for prophylactic care. Aside from school children, prophylactic care is extended to children of the pre-school units, i.e. of the kindergartens.

Since medical care is brought nearer to the population and since health centers are organized in industrial enterprises, most health centers also open dental departments. The dentists of the health centers do not merely render curative work, but also carry out a preventive program of a prophylactic-curative nature on a larger scale.

For the purpose of extending aid to jaw-surgery, large cities have established special departments of maxillo-facial surgery in the hospitals. These dental departments are under the charge of medical-dentists (stomatologists).⁶ In those cities where there are no such departments, this service is rendered at the surgical divisions by specialist-dentists or general surgeons.

Dental prosthesis is also free and is given by special ambulatory units, whenever necessary.

Dental Education in the Soviet Union

Dental education in the Soviet Union is not considered a discipline apart from education in general. Nor is it detached from medical education. The concept of dental education is rooted in the theoretical foundation of general education on the one hand and professional education on the other. The philosophy of education in the Soviet Union is based on social conceptions that center around the needs of the community.

6. These dentists are required to graduate from a medical school.

Hence professional education generally aims to enrich the lives of the citizens. On the other hand, professional education may be considered a privilege extended to persons with ability, inclination and desire to serve the community. Dental education, coming within the category of professional (medical) education, is treated in the same light. Medico-dental problems and dento-medical problems are dealt with in the light of their social implications. The emphasis on the extension of mass-oral-prophylaxis is logically the outcome.

The content of the undergraduate dental course in the Soviet Union is designed to meet an immediate practical and social need, although the ultimate goal is not ignored. Similarly, the organization of the entire system of Soviet dental education is adjusted from time to time to satisfy these immediate needs. The Soviet Union, being in a transition state with respect to industrialization of the country, has made no attempt to establish the "ideal system" of dental education. Prof. A. Entin, Director of the Stomatologic Clinic at the Military Academy in Leningrad, expressed the view that the stomatologic plan would be the ideal one for the education of dentists. One would become a dentist after having obtained a full medical qualification. However, under existing conditions in Soviet Russia, a modified stomatologic plan is being carried out at the Institute with which he is connected. Dr. Entin hopes that ultimately the full stomatologic system may be attained.

Dr. Alexander A. Limberg, Professor of Stomatology at the Medical Institute in Leningrad and Director of the Surgical Division of the Stomatologic Institute, expressed a similar view: "Because the emphasis is on providing dental care for the masses immediately, it is impossible for the present to carry out the ideal program of education." However, he also stressed the fact that most faculty members of the professorial rank in the institutions of the USSR have had five years of training in medicine and two and a half years education in dentistry.

The early changes in the organization of medical schools were not directed toward the curriculum. At first, emphasis was placed on the constituency of the student body, students being admitted to the study of medicine, regardless of sex or

race. Entrance requirements were very low at first, but have been raised in the course of time.

In 1930, all institutions of higher learning, including medical and dental education, were under the supervision of the Commissariats of Education. Since that time, medical education has been transferred from educational supervision and it became part of the functions of the Commissariats of Health. At the same time, the medical schools were divided into three faculties, according to the needs of the three types of physicians. These consisted of the Faculty of Therapy and Prophylaxis, which offered a four-year course; the Faculty of Hygiene, which offered a three and a half-year course; and the Faculty of Mothers and Children, with a four-year course of instruction.

The curriculum proper in the dental courses is divided into ten departments as given below. It is interesting to observe that "social dentistry" and "dental research" have been included and made an integral part of the undergraduate dental curriculum. The 1935 Curriculum Survey of the American Association of Dental Schools also included a course in "Social and Economic Relations of Dentistry" in its recommendations.⁷

The medical institutes have over 150 physicians, on the average, and the Dental Institute consists of the following departments:

1. Department of the Jaw Clinics
2. Polyclinic department
3. Patho-anatomical department
4. Patho-physiological department
5. Department of Prosthesis
6. X-ray department
7. Department of Dental Surgery
8. The group of social stomatology
9. Central Research Laboratory for Steel Prosthesis
10. Experimental Laboratory for Chewing Tests

Aside from the Central Institute, a number of large cities (Leningrad, Gorky, Perm, Kharkov, and Odessa) have prac-

7. Blauch, L. E., "A Course of Study in Dentistry," *Amer. Assoc. of Dental Schools*, Chicago, 1935.

tical and research institutes, which also train physician-specialists and prepare groups of scientific workers in the field of dentistry. The education of dentists and dental research work is also carried on in the more adequately equipped medical schools of the Soviet Union. These schools have departments of stomatology and the study of stomatology is made compulsory for all medical students.

TABLE II
DEPARTMENTS OF STOMATOLOGY IN MEDICAL SCHOOLS

<i>City</i>	<i>Name of Institute</i>	<i>Director</i>
Moscow	1st Moscow Medical Institute	Prof. Lukowski
Moscow	2nd Moscow Medical Institute	Prof. Feldman
Leningrad	1st Leningrad Medical Institute	Prof. Lvov
Leningrad	2nd Leningrad Medical Institute	Prof. Limberg
Leningrad	Military-Medical Academy	Prof. Entin
Voronezh	Medical Institute	Prof. Evdokimov
Rostov-on-Don	Medical Institute	Prof. Agapov
Kharkov	Medical Institute	Prof. Gofung
Kiev	Medical Institute	Prof. Weissblatt

The preparation of practitioners in the dental branch of medical science and health service is carried out in two ways.⁸ On the one hand, practitioners are prepared for the ambulatory sections. This group is called general dentists. On the other hand, the more highly qualified practitioners are prepared for clinic service, with the added responsibility of directing the rest of the work. The second group represent the physician-dentists, or specialists (stomatologists).

The general dentists are the mass-workers. They receive their training in special dental institutes, which offer a four-year general dental course. The specialists or physician-dentists are graduates of medical schools who specialize in the broad field of dentistry or stomatology.

Methods of teaching are always being experimented with in Soviet Russia. According to Professors Pinkewitch and Sigerist,⁹

8. Entin, D. A., "Dental Education," *Jour. Odont. Stom.*, (Moscow) 4:3. 74:85, Sept., 1926.

9. cf. Pinkewitch, Albert P., *Science and Education in the U.S.S.R.*, London, 1935, and Sigerist, Henry E., *Socialized Medicine in the Soviet Union*, New York, 1937.

the discussion method is used much more extensively and is preferred to the lecture method.¹⁰ Considerable clinical instruction is offered in cast inlay and bridgework. Students gain little experience with gold foil fillings, for these are not used in practice. Dental prosthesis (restorations) has not been developed extensively. Stainless steel is being used for bridge-work and plate-work. Much attention is paid to orthodontics, the straightening of irregularities of teeth and mouth. It should be noted that women represent the largest percentage of dental practitioners and much time is devoted to dentistry for children. Children's care is one of the chief concerns of the Soviet Union—hence the steady development of orthodontics and oral prophylaxis.

The Growth of the Dental Profession in the Soviet Union

The growth of the dental profession is noted by three main factors: (a) progress in dental education, (b) advances in dental research, and (c) improvement of the status of practitioners and the resultant service to the people. Progress has taken place in all three fields.

The first dental law in Russia was enacted in 1810 and modified in 1835. In 1881, F. I. Vazhinski opened the first Russian Dental School in St. Petersburg. By 1913, there were altogether thirteen privately owned dental schools. A. K. Limberg was a pioneer of the stomatologic idea in Russia and succeeded in establishing a chair in stomatology at the Medical Military Academy. Reforms in dental education were discussed at the Dental Congress in April, 1917, and again, after the October Revolution, in 1918, when a Dental Section was created in the Commissariat of Health, with Prof. Dauge in charge. Thus Soviet dental education began its life. Dauge speaks of this event in the rebirth of the dental profession:¹¹ "the revolution in dental relief methods [oral prophylaxis] and the revolution

10. At New York University, we have been experimenting with various teaching methods and have found case-discussion methods very useful. cf. Asgis, Alfred J., *Improvement of Dental College Teaching*, New York, Clinical Press (Revised edition), 1937.

11. Dauge, Paul, "The Historical Development of Stomatology (Dentistry) in Russia," *Dental Outlook*, 20:1. 9-26 (Jan.), 1933.

in dental education are two sides of one and the same process. The second is inconceivable without the first."

Dental Organization and Literature

Dental societies are organized in the USSR on the basis of local districts. Their program and activities deal with scientific, political and economic problems. The dental societies have two functions to perform: (1) to improve the scientific and professional status of dentistry, and (2) to consider the various economic problems of dentists, such as appointments, salaries, promotions, social security, etc. It is interesting to observe that professional men with academic degrees receive higher salaries than those without degrees. Similarly, the rank in salary is based on the number of years of service, as given below in Table III. The salaries of dentists are about the same as those of physicians and teachers. As reported by Dr. Slood, the dentist is engaged five days a week, six hours per day. He is entitled to a vacation at one of the workers Rest Homes and receives the benefits of social security. Dentists may augment their income from private practice after public service.¹² Steinman reported that dentists doing operative work are paid higher salaries than those who are engaged in restorative service (prosthesis).¹³

Each dental society publishes its own literature, which is distributed free to its members. The official journal in the USSR is the bi-monthly *Soviet Stomatology* which publishes the scientific works of Soviet dentists. Papers on dentistry are also published in the general medical press and foreign literature is likewise translated.

Most of the Russian dental literature of the pre-revolutionary period consisted almost exclusively of translations from the German and other publications. From 1896 to 1917, six All-Russian Dental Congresses were held which were attended by 1,245 persons. Most of the 113 reports presented were compilations.

12. Slood, H., "Mass Dentistry and the Russian Dentist," *Indian Dental Review*, 9:4, 158-59 (Oct.), 1934.

13. Steinman, M., "Dentistry and Dentists in Russia Today," *Dental Outlook*, 20:5, 203-204 (May), 1933.

TABLE III
MONTHLY SALARY RATES (in rubles) OF VARIOUS CATEGORIES
OF MEDICAL WORKERS

Category of Medical Worker	<i>With Professional Experience of</i>		
	less than 5 years	more than 5 years	more than 10 years, or having academic degree
Physician—State sanitary inspector, in charge of krai or city, head of sanitary district of railroads	350	450	550
Physician — district inspector, public health and school physician, bacteriologist	300	350	400
Dentist graduated from dental school	265	285	340 to 390
Senior nurse in hospital dept., dentist, dental technician — all graduated from middle medical school:			
(A) in city or industrial settlement	225	245	265 to 290
(B) in rural localities	195	215	240

For the past ten years, a number of manuals, monographs, and textbooks have been published in the Russian language.¹⁴ Special forms of dental literature are issued in Ukrainian, Georgian and other languages of the various nationalities of the USSR. Current research work is coordinated and correlated by the All-Russian Dental Society which has branches in most of the cities of the Soviet Union. The material related to this research was published in the official dental journal for the years 1933-34.¹⁵

Dental Research

For the purpose of conducting research work and for giving instruction to dental students, the largest medical schools of the Soviet Union have established dental departments, as pointed out above.¹⁶ In addition to these departments, there is a

14. cf. Rauer, A. E., *Perelomy Cheliustiei* (Oral Fractures). Government Medical Press, Moscow, 1932, 122 pp., and Brandburg, B. B., *Khirurgicheskie Metodi Lechenia Zabolevanii Cheliustiei* (Surgical Treatment of Oral Diseases), Kharkov, 1931. iii-235 pp.

15. For a summary of earlier work, see Randorf, George, "Odontology and Stomatology in Soviet Russia for the Past Decade," *Dental Digest*, December, 1930, pp. 783-788.

16. Troyanovsky, Alexander A., "Progress in Medical Training and Research in the U.S.S.R.," *The Diplomat*, 8:4, 125-131 (April), 1936.

special Central Research Institute of Stomatology in Moscow. Dr. Joffe is Director and Professor Lukomsky is Research Director. One of the aims of the institute is to formulate and study on a large scale the theoretical and the practical problems of dentistry. Stress is laid on advancing research in salivary digestion and the part saliva plays in the causation of dental disease. The approach to the problem is mainly biochemical in character.

At this point it is necessary to say a word or two about the prevailing thought in the Soviet profession.

1. The majority of Soviet physicians are inclined to accept the endogenous theory of the cause of caries, caused by disorders in metabolism and by traumatic factors of a neurotrophic character. (Lukomsky)

2. Alveolar pyorrhea, or periodontal disease, is of late looked upon as traumatism, resulting from a neurotrophic disorder. (Entin)

3. Pregnancy—a factor which disturbs the calcium metabolism—is one of the causes which aids in the development of caries.

4. As regards the use of sugar, it is considered an endogenous, and not an exogenous, factor in the pathogenesis of caries.

In addition to the research work done, which embraces the problems of conservative therapy of the teeth (root-canal therapy), during the past few years a great deal of work has been done in reviewing the basic principles of the problems of oral sepsis (focal infection) (Lukomsky and Entin). As a result of this work, Soviet dentistry has reason to believe that oral sepsis has not been satisfactorily explained as a causative factor in systemic disorders. There, the need for the application of oral surgery in the treatment of teeth is somewhat lessened.

Dental Supplies and Manufacture

The development of equipment, instruments and supplies plays a very important part in the progress of the profession of dentistry as a health service. This aspect of dental culture must not be minimized. Dental manufacture and supplies present a

phase of development that is very closely linked with the industrial and economic growth of the Soviet Union. When other aspects of Soviet life demand immediate attention, such as agriculture, national defense, industry, etc., the growth of dental industry is naturally retarded.

Practically no instruments or materials were manufactured in Tsarist Russia, most of it having been imported from abroad. Altogether not over 200,000 artificial teeth were manufactured during the Tsarist regime, while under Soviet guidance, it has been possible to increase the output, as will be observed from the following table:

TABLE IV

<i>Year</i>	<i>Artificial Teeth</i>
1924	415,371
1925	811,175
1926	1,118,413
1934	800,000*

Stainless steel is used for making hand instruments. The patterns of instruments for the removal of teeth, such as forceps and elevators, show German and Austrian influence. Although the artificial teeth are satisfactory in form and appearance, they are not up to the mark in shading and range in coloring. Dental rubber has also been found in need of improvement. Cements used as filling material are strictly supervised and are pure in quality. American equipment is more beautiful and probably more efficient than the equipment more generally used in the Soviet Union, but it should be remembered that the American make is by far the best in the world.

* * *

This brief outline of Soviet dentistry and dental education gives only a bird's eye view of what is taking place in the practice of dentistry with respect to the extension of dental care to the people. We are impressed with the fact that dentistry is recognized as an important health service and, therefore, dental education is established on a firm foundation, educationally and medically. That medical students should be required to study the fundamentals of dentistry as a requirement for graduation is a progressive step in medico-dental cooperation.

*Produced in Leningrad alone.

WORK IN THE FIELD OF PSYCHOLOGY IN THE USSR IN 1938

By

PROF. K. N. KORNILOV
(Translated from Russian)

In 1938, as in preceding years, Soviet psychologists conducted intensive work for a more precise delineation of the methodology of Marxist psychology, conceived of as a science of the laws of human psychical (mental) activities, a unity of subjective and objective manifestations. The psyche (mind) is understood by Soviet psychologists not as something differing basically in its nature from matter, but as the highest product of uniquely organized matter. This uniqueness does not permit the characteristics of the psyche (mind) to be identified with other attributes of matter. The psyche (mind) is a reflection of external reality. This reflection theory, advanced by Lenin, is a fundamental thesis of Soviet psychology in understanding and studying concrete phenomena of psychical life.

The system of Soviet psychology, based upon dialectical materialism, is reflected in a series of works. Among these should first be mentioned the textbook, *Psychology*, edited by Kornilov, Teplov and Schwartz, which appeared in 1938. This textbook was intended as an aid for higher pedagogical institutes. There are 61 such institutes in the USSR and 50 more are scheduled to be opened. In all of these, the program of the course in psychology, covering the first two years of instruction, is based upon the contents of this textbook.

An analogous textbook was published by the Ukrainian psychologists, edited by Kostik (Kiev). All of these texts are the fruit of collective work of a group of psychologists, each of whom worked out that section in which he himself was a specialist. In the preparation of the text, *Psychology*, twenty-two Moscow psychologists took part. The work was under the guidance of Professor Kornilov, who is the Director of the State Psychological Institute. This institute, in Moscow, found-

ed in 1912, has become the center for coordinating the theoretical and experimental work of Soviet psychologists. It periodically holds conferences of Soviet psychologists and evaluates the results of their work. Such were the meetings in 1938 in Moscow and in Leningrad, where the Institute for the Study of the Brain is the chief psychological agency. In the other Republics such conferences of psychologists also take place. Thus, in the Ukraine, the Pedagogical Institute for Psychological Research held meetings on pedagogical questions at which much attention was given to psychological problems. The close relationship between pedagogy and psychology is highly characteristic of Soviet psychology which always tries to come to grips with the problems of practical life and relate itself directly to those aspects of socialist construction which make the greatest demands upon it. Thus, in Leningrad, psychologists (Kompanieskii and others) are carrying on studies in color perception, intending to utilize the results in evolving a color scheme for the Palace of Soviets, which is now in construction. Moscow psychologists (Maltsev and others) are conducting analogous work in the field of acoustics, having in mind the acoustics of the Palace of Soviets. A number of Soviet psychologists are working on the psychology of propaganda, the effect of posters and safety techniques (Tolchinskii in Leningrad). Artemov in Moscow is working in connection with the making of books, type and other printing problems. Work is also being done in Moscow (Artemov, Dobrynin and others) in the field of psychology of the theatre and of the actor. Teplov and his co-workers in Moscow are working on musical perception. In the field of visual perception, extensive research is being done by Professor Kravkov, under whose editorship the text, *Visual Perception*, was published. Soviet psychologists also pay special attention to the psychological bases of instruction and education. This is the main topic on which the State Institute of Psychology works, in collaboration with the 61 pedagogical institutes in other parts of the country.

The following is an outline of the work of the State Institute of Psychology for 1938-39:

I. Problems of thinking (Laboratory conducted by Shemiakin)

1. Problems of transition from sensation to perception (Shemiakin)

2. The role of abstraction in the development of thinking (Georgiev)
 3. The role of the schematic relationships in thinking (Shevarev)
 4. Thinking and perception (Blonskii)
 5. The process of thinking in the solution of arithmetic problems (Menchinskaya)
 6. Experimental studies of thinking processes in the demonstration and solution of problems in geometry and physics
- II. Problems of memory* (Laboratory conducted by A. A. Smirnov)
1. Psychological analysis of methods of knowledge fixation under conditions of school instruction (Smirnov)
 2. Analysis of the processes of recall (Blonskii)
 3. Changes in visual images during memorization (Solovev)
 4. Psychological analysis of stages in the acquisition of the reading habit (Dodonov)
 5. Memory as dependent upon subject matter studied (Bartkevich)
 6. The sequence of reproduction
- III. Laboratory of habits* (L. M. Schwartz)
1. Experimental investigations of reading habits (Schwartz)
 2. Psychology of motor habits (Gurianov)
 3. Development of habits in reacting to rapidly moving objects (Chebyshev)
- IV. Laboratory of the psychology of art* (Teplov)
1. Psychology of musical ability (Teplov)
 2. Perception of Music (Blagonadezhin)
 3. Psychological analysis of the process of drawing (Basurmanov)
 4. Literary comprehension (Nikiforov)
- V. Laboratory of will and character* (Levitov)
1. Psychology of character formation in the higher grades through imitation and emulation (Levitov)
 2. Emotions and character of pre-school children (Sokolov)
- VI. Laboratory for mental development* (Leontev)
1. Problems of mental development (Leontev)
 2. Development of children's speech (Shvachkin)
 3. Development of the higher forms of perception in children (Musylev)
- VII. Laboratory for the study of attention* (Dobrynin)
1. Development and training of attention in conditions of anoxemia (Lapan)

VIII. *Material substratum of psychology*

1. Material substratum of the mind (Bogoslovskii)

IX. *Council on the history of psychology* (Rybnikov)

The Institute is carrying on psychological work, gathering around itself the active psychologists of Moscow and the provinces. At the meetings of the active members the principal problems of Marxist psychology are systematically worked out and discussed. Besides this, in a number of sections, specialists on the separate branches of psychology work together. Luria heads the section on pathopsychology, while Dobrynin heads the section of psychology of labor.

Themes worked out in the pathopsychology section:

1. Psychology of acoustical knowledge and perception (Luria)
2. Pathology of optical perception (Chlenov and Shubert)
3. Demonstration of a case of apraxia in mastication and swallowing (Poliakov)
4. Effect of the vestibular apparatus on the perception of apparent movement (Solovev)
5. Problems of apraktognosia (Shakhnovich, Furer and others)

In the section on the psychology of labor reports were given on the industrial education of the workers in communications (Rybnikov), of cutters (Kaufman), of workers in the chemical industry (Kotelov), of aviators (Platonov), of the psychological principles of industrial instruction (Gellerstein), of the psychology of fatigue (Egorov), and of the technical instruction of tractor drivers (Lintvarov and others).

In Leningrad, the psychology section of the Institute of the Study of the Brain carries on extensive work under Anan'ev. It is possible to get an idea of the work done in this section from *Psychological Studies*, vol. IX, 1939. The following works were published:

1. Anan'ev, B.G., *Problems of psychological research*
2. Kampaneiskii, B.G., *Change in the perception of color at a distance*
3. Kanicheva; *Perception of color at a distance*
4. Osipova, *On the question of the perception of achromatic colors*
5. Berkenblit, *On the question of the genesis of ideas*
6. Karpenko, *On the course of ideas during memorization*
7. Saprykin, *On the question of mechanical forgetting*
8. Poliakova, *Comparative study of memory in psychoneurotics*
9. *Psychological significance of galvanic skin phenomena in man* (Miasishchev)
10. *Habit formation in the lower apes* (Roginskii)

In the Ukraine, the psychological work is headed by the Kharkov and Kiev Pedagogical Institutes for Scientific Research.

At the conferences which took place in December, 1938, the following reports on psychology were heard:

1. Psychological development of the child and instruction (Leontev)
2. Conditions for the formation of ideas (Zaporozhets)
3. On the question of the conditions for reliability of intelligence tests (Askin)
4. Pictorial imagery in young children (Khomenko)
5. Children's realization of speech in the process of play (Lukov)
6. The problem of incidental memory (Zinchenko)
7. Psychology and pathopsychology (Lebedinskii)
8. Study of memory (Galperin)
9. Words as psychological factors (Katkov)
10. Norms of objective ratings of achievements in physical geography (Slutskin)

In the Kiev Institute the following problems have been worked on:

1. The psychology of the mastery of number relations by school children in the lower grades (Kostiuk)
2. Psychological analysis of typical spelling difficulties of students in the lower grades
3. Training of the will. Psychology of interest. Motives for choice of specialties by graduates of secondary schools (Gordon)
4. Development of ideas and concepts among children in the process of instruction
5. Psychology and pedagogy of the learning and retention of textbook material
6. Development of arithmetical reasoning among students of the lower grades
7. Individual peculiarities of school children and their significance in school work (Balitskaya)

In Georgia the work is headed by the Psychological Laboratory in Tbilisi, of which the director is Usnadze. Under his guidance, work on problems of "attitudes" is carried on. This is the main interest of the psychological centers to which the local pedagogical institutes and psychological laboratories are oriented. In view of the great number of these centers, we shall point out only a few. Thus in Voronezh the

psychological work is headed by Zagorovskii, who is working on the following themes:

1. Emotions and their development in children
2. Development of speech in children in their second year
3. Optimum distribution of repetitions in memory

The associates of Zagorovskii have the following themes:

1. Children's thinking (Maslennikov)
2. Characteristics of the psychology of the ailing (Fraker)
3. Emotions of children in kindergarten (Bychkovskaya)
4. Development of speech in early childhood (Shestakova)
5. Children's speech in the first year (Strutshovskaya)

In Odessa, the chair is occupied by Elkin who carries on work in the field of perception of time and development of habit.

Under his guidance the following studies are being worked out:

1. Rhythm and habit (Khersonskaya)
2. The role of the proprioceptive sensitivity in habit formation (Khersonskaya)
3. The influence of attention on the threshold of auditory sensations
4. Thinking and habit (Medvedev)
5. Habit disruption and the laws of forgetting (Stonianova)
6. Attention and habit formation (Stoianova)

In Saratov, Strakhov is studying the psychology of emotion and the character of the child.

In Orel, Rebizov is working on the problem of memory (memorization of historical subject matter in secondary school).

In Irkutsk, Beliaev is carrying on work on the development of interest in the child.

In Kalinin, Filatov is studying the psychological characteristics of written language. Feofanov, in Kursk, is working on a subject close to this topic.

In Tambov, Zhekulin is working in the field of concepts (perception and reproduction of visual-spatial magnitudes).

In Kuibyshev, Goivorovskii and his associates are studying:

1. Visual impressions of children
2. Repertory of children's concepts as influenced by kindergarten attendance.

3. Problem of situational psychology
4. Variance factors in simple reactions

In Gorkii, Vasilevskii is working on questions of technical inventiveness.

The largest of the pedagogical institutes are in Moscow and Leningrad. The chair of psychology in Moscow is held by Professor Kornilov, under whose guidance work is conducted on the problem of will.

1. Will and emotion (Roginskaya)
2. Doctrine of temperament (Eres)
3. The role of movements in the thinking process (Liubimov)
4. Problem of desire, or wants, from the Marxist standpoint (Lezhnev)
5. Thinking and learning (Gromov)
6. Literary and artistic creation (Mukhin)

In another Moscow pedagogical institute (the Liebknecht Institute), Dobrynin is working on the problem of attention and interest.

In the Scientific-Practical Institute of the special schools, Zankov and his associates are studying:

1. Color perception among deaf-mute children
2. The problem of constancy of perception
3. Object memory by deaf-mute and normal children
4. The role of repetition in studying
5. The dependence of recognition on the completeness of pictorial representation.
6. Development of imitative speech among the deaf-mute

In the Leningrad Pedagogical Institute the department is headed by Professor Rubinstein, under whose guidance the following themes are being worked out:

1. The problem of mental development
2. Development of observation among children
3. Development of form perception among children
4. Development of speech in children
5. Memory and forgetting of verbal imagery
6. The problem of constancy

In the Leningrad State Pediatric Institute, Comrade Efrussi is working on the questions of psychology of speech and thinking and mental changes in children in connection with brain diseases.

In the Leningrad Institute for Raising the Qualifications of Teachers, Boltunov has been carrying on work on the problem of professional orientation and reading comprehension.

Psychological work is being carried on in the majority of pedagogical institutes and it is difficult to encompass all its scope within a brief survey. But on the basis of the above it is possible to judge around what themes the general work and the work of the pedagogical psychology is being conducted. This division is most completely represented in the work of the Soviet psychologists who also carry on work in the psychology of labor, zoopsychology and pathopsychology, etc.

In the field of zoopsychology work is being done by Borovskii (specialist in habit), Kohts (problem of calculation), and Roginskii (habits in the lower apes).

In the field of psychology of labor the work is being carried on in a whole series of laboratories attached to various government departments, where much attention is given to questions of industrial instruction: in communications, in the Commissariat of Agriculture, study of tractor operators (Lintvarov), operators of machines, aviators, etc.

The work in pathopsychology has wide scope. This work is carried on by psychiatric clinics, institutes and laboratories and other special enterprises (Giliarevskii, Chlenov, Luria, and others).

In 1938, the Soviet psychologists gave much attention to the study of the history of Russian psychology. A special division on the history of psychology was established at the State Psychological Institute, which is working on the collection and study of historical material (Rybnikov). In Leningrad the historical themes were worked on by the associates in the Brain Institute, under the guidance of Anan'ev. In Gorkii they are studying the work of Sechenov; in Saratov, the work of Chernyshevskii. A large group of prominent psychologists and psychological schools are cooperating in a comprehensive analysis and study.

DOCUMENTS

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**Statement by V. M. Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's
Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and People's Commissar of Foreign
Affairs of the U.S.S.R. at the Session of the Supreme
Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the Ratification of the
Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, Moscow,
August 31, 1939**

Since the third session of the Supreme Soviet the international situation has shown no change for the better. On the contrary, it has become even more tense.

Steps taken by various governments to put an end to this state of tension have obviously proved inadequate. They met with no success. This is true of Europe. Nor has there been any change for the better in Eastern Asia. Japanese troops continue as before to occupy the principal cities and a considerable part of the territory of China. Nor is Japan refraining from hostile acts against the U.S.S.R. Here, too, the situation changed in the direction of further aggravation.

In view of this state of affairs, the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression between the U.S.S.R. and Germany is of tremendous positive value, eliminating the danger of war between Germany and the Soviet Union. In order more fully to define the significance of this pact, I must first dwell on the negotiations which have taken place in recent months in Moscow with representatives of Great Britain and France.

As you know, the Anglo-Franco-Soviet negotiations for the conclusion of a pact of mutual assistance against aggression in Europe began as far back as April. The initial proposals of the British Government were, as you know, entirely unacceptable. They ignored the prime requisites for such negotiations—they ignored the principle of reciprocity and equality of obligations.

In spite of this, the Soviet Government did not reject negotiations and in its turn put forward its own proposals. We were mindful of the fact that it was difficult for the governments of Great Britain and France to make an abrupt change in their policy from the unfriendly attitude towards the Soviet Union which had existed quite recently to serious negotiations with the U.S.S.R. based on the condition of equality of obligations. However, the subsequent negotiations were not justified by the results.

The Anglo-Franco-Soviet negotiations lasted four months. They helped elucidate a number of questions. At the same time, they made it clear to the representatives of Great Britain and France that the Soviet Union has to be seriously reckoned with in international affairs. But these negotiations encountered insuperable obstacles. The

trouble, of course, did not lie in individual "formulations" or in particular clauses in the draft of a pact. No, the trouble was much more serious.

The conclusion of a pact of mutual assistance against aggression would have been of value only if Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union had arrived at an agreement as to definite military measures against an attack of the aggressor. Accordingly, for a certain period, not only political but also military negotiations were conducted in Moscow with representatives of the British and French armies. However, nothing came of the military negotiations. They encountered the difficulty that Poland, who was to be jointly guaranteed by Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R., rejected military assistance on the part of the Soviet Union. Attempts to overcome the objections of Poland met with no success. Furthermore, the negotiations showed that Great Britain was not anxious to overcome these objections of Poland, but, on the contrary, encouraged them. It is clear that, such being the attitude of the Polish Government and its principal ally towards military assistance on the part of the Soviet Union in event of aggression, the Anglo-Franco-Soviet negotiations could not bear fruit. After this it became clear to us that the Anglo-Franco-Soviet negotiations were doomed to failure.

What have the negotiations with Great Britain and France shown? The Anglo-Franco-Soviet negotiations have shown that the position of Great Britain and France is marked by howling contradictions throughout. Judge for yourselves.

On the one hand, Great Britain and France demanded that the U.S.S.R. should give military assistance to Poland in case of aggression. The U.S.S.R., as you know, was willing to meet this demand, provided the U.S.S.R. itself received like assistance from Great Britain and France.

On the other hand, Great Britain and France brought onto the scene a Poland who resolutely declined military assistance on the part of the U.S.S.R.

Just try, under such circumstances, to reach an agreement regarding mutual assistance, when assistance on the part of the U.S.S.R. is declared beforehand to be unnecessary and intrusive.

Further, on one hand, Great Britain and France offered to guarantee military assistance to the Soviet Union against aggression in return for a like assistance on the part of the U.S.S.R. On the other hand, they hedged round their assistance with such reservations regarding indirect aggression as could convert this assistance into a myth and provide them with a formal legal excuse to evade giving assistance and place the U.S.S.R. in a position of isolation in the face of the aggressor. Just try to distinguish between such a "pact of mutual assistance" and a pact of more or less camouflaged chicanery.

Further, on the one hand, Great Britain and France stressed the importance and gravity of the negotiations for a pact of mutual assistance and demanded that the U.S.S.R. should treat this matter most seriously and settle very rapidly all questions relating to the pact. On the other hand, they themselves displayed extreme dilatoriness and an absolutely light-minded attitude toward the negotiations, entrusting them to individuals of secondary importance who were not invested with adequate powers. It is enough to mention that the British and French military missions came to Moscow without any definite powers and without the power to conclude any military convention. Indeed, the British military mission arrived in Moscow without any mandate at all; and it was only on the demand of our military mission that, on the very eve of the breakdown of negotiations, they presented written credentials. But even these credentials were of the vaguest kind; that is, credentials without proper weight. Just try to distinguish between this light-minded attitude towards the negotiations on the part of Great Britain and France and a frivolous make-believe at negotiations, designed to discredit the whole business of negotiations. Such were the intrinsic contradictions in the attitude of Great Britain and France towards negotiations with the U.S.S.R. which led to their breakdown.

What is the root of these contradictions in the position of Great Britain and France? In a few words it can be put as follows: On the one hand, the British and French Governments fear aggression and for that reason would like to have a pact of mutual assistance with the Soviet Union, provided it helped to strengthen them, Great Britain and France. But, on the other hand, the British and French Governments are afraid that the conclusion of a real pact of mutual assistance with the U.S.S.R. may strengthen our country, the Soviet Union, which, it appears, does not answer their purpose. It must be admitted that these fears outweighed other considerations. Only in this way can we understand the position of Poland who acts on the instructions of Great Britain and France. I shall now pass to the Soviet-German non-aggression pact.

The decision to conclude a non-aggression pact between the U.S.S.R. and Germany was adopted after the military negotiations with France and Great Britain had reached an impasse, owing to the insuperable differences which I have mentioned. As the negotiations had shown that the conclusion of a pact of mutual assistance could not be expected, we could not but explore other possibilities of ensuring peace and eliminating the danger of war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. If the British and French governments refused to reckon with this, that is their affair. It is our duty to think of the interests of the Soviet people, the interests of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. All the more since we are firmly convinced that the interests of the U.S.S.R. coincide with the fundamental interests of the peoples of other countries.

But that is only one side of the matter. Another circumstance was required before the Soviet-German non-aggression pact could come into existence. It was necessary that in her foreign policy Germany should make a turn towards good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. Only when this second condition was fulfilled, only when it became clear to us that the German Government desired to change its foreign policy so as to secure an improvement in relations with the U.S.S.R. was the basis found for the conclusion of a Soviet-German non-aggression pact.

Everybody knows that during the last six years, ever since the National Socialists came into power, the political relations between Germany and the U.S.S.R. have been strained. Everybody also knows that, despite differences in outlook and political systems, the Soviet Government endeavored to maintain normal business and political relations with Germany. There is no need just now to revert to individual incidents in these relations during recent years, which are well-known to you, as it is. I must, however, recall the explanation of our foreign policy given several months ago at the Eighteenth Party Congress. Speaking of our tasks in the realm of foreign policy, Stalin defined our attitude to other countries as follows:

"First. To continue the policy of peace and of strengthening business relations with all countries;

"Second. To be cautious and not allow our country to be drawn into conflicts by warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull chestnuts out of the fire for them."

As you see, Stalin declared in these conclusions that the Soviet Union stands for the strengthening of business relations with all countries. But at the same time Stalin warned us against warmongers who are anxious in their own interests to involve our country in conflicts with other countries. Exposing the hullabaloo raised in the British, French and American press about Germany's "plans" for the seizure of Soviet Ukraine, Stalin said: "It looks as if the object of this suspicious hullabaloo was to incense the Soviet Union against Germany, to poison the atmosphere and to provoke a conflict with Germany without any visible grounds."

As you see, Stalin hit the nail on the head when he exposed the machinations of the West European politicians who were trying to set Germany and the Soviet Union at loggerheads. It must be confessed that there were some short-sighted people even in our country who were carried away by an over-simplified anti-fascist propaganda and who forgot about this provocative work of our enemies. Mindful of this, Stalin even then suggested the possibility of other not hostile but good-neighborly relations between Germany and the U.S.S.R.

It can now be seen that, on the whole, Germany correctly understood these statements of Stalin and drew practical deductions from them.

The conclusion of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact shows that Stalin's historical pre-vision has been brilliantly confirmed.

In the spring of this year the German Government made a proposal to resume commercial and credit negotiations. Soon afterward these negotiations were resumed. By making mutual concessions, we succeeded in reaching an agreement. As you know, this agreement was signed on August nineteenth. This was not the first commercial and credit agreement concluded with Germany under her present government. But this agreement differs favorably not only from the 1935 agreement but from all previous agreements—not to mention the fact that we had no economic agreement equally advantageous with Great Britain, France or any other country.

This agreement is advantageous to us because of its credit conditions (a seven-year credit) and because it enables us to order a considerable additional quantity of such equipment as we need. By this agreement the U.S.S.R. undertakes to sell to Germany a definite quantity of our surplus raw materials for her industry, which fully answers to the interests of the U.S.S.R.

Why should we reject such an advantageous economic agreement? Surely not to please those who are generally averse to the Soviet Union having advantageous economic agreements with other countries? And it is clear that the commercial and credit agreement with Germany is fully in accord with the economic interests and defensive needs of the Soviet Union. This agreement is fully in accord with the decision of the Eighteenth Congress of our Party which approved Stalin's statement as to the need for "strengthening business relations with all countries."

When the German Government expressed a desire to improve political relations, as well, the Soviet Government had no grounds for refusing. This gave rise to the question of concluding a non-aggression pact. Voices are now being heard which reveal a lack of understanding of the most simple reasons for the improvement which has begun in the political relations between the Soviet Union and Germany. For example, people ask, with an air of innocence, how the Soviet Union could consent to improve political relations with a state of fascist type. Is that possible? They ask. But they forget that it is not a question of our attitude towards the internal regime of another country but of foreign relations between two states. They forget that we hold to the position of not interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and correspondingly of not tolerating interference in our own internal affairs. Furthermore, they forget an important principle of our foreign policy which was formulated by Stalin at the Eighteenth Party Congress as follows:

"We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country."

The meaning of these words is quite clear: The Soviet Union strives to maintain good-neighborly relations with all non-Soviet countries, provided these countries maintain a like attitude towards the Soviet Union. In our foreign policy towards non-Soviet countries we have always been guided by Lenin's well-known principle regarding the peaceful co-existence of the Soviet state and capitalist countries. A large number of examples might be cited to show how this principle has been carried out in practice. But I will confine myself to only a few. We have had, for instance, a non-aggression and neutrality treaty with Fascist Italy ever since 1933. It has never occurred to anybody as yet to object to this treaty. And that is natural, inasmuch as this pact meets the interests of the U.S.S.R., it is in accord with our principle of the peaceful co-existence of the U.S.S.R. and capitalist countries. We have non-aggression pacts also with Poland and certain other countries whose semi-fascist system is known to all. These pacts have not given rise to any misgivings, either.

Perhaps it would not be superfluous to mention the fact that we have no treaties of this kind with certain other non-fascist, bourgeois democratic countries, with Great Britain herself for instance. But that is not our fault.

Since 1926 the political basis of our relations with Germany has been the treaty of neutrality which was prolonged by the present German Government in 1933. This treaty of neutrality remains in force to this day. The Soviet Government had considered it desirable, even before this, to take a further step towards improving political relations with Germany, but circumstances have been such that this has become possible only now.

It is true that it is not a pact of mutual assistance that is in question, as in the case of the Anglo-Franco-Soviet negotiations, but only a non-aggression pact. Nevertheless, conditions being what they are, it is difficult to overestimate the international importance of the Soviet-German pact. That is why we favored the visit of Von Ribbentrop, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Moscow.

August 23, 1939, the day the Soviet-German non-aggression pact was signed, is to be regarded as a date of great historical importance. The non-aggression pact between the U.S.S.R. and Germany marks a turning point in the history of Europe, and not only of Europe.

Only yesterday the German fascists were pursuing a foreign policy hostile to us. Yes, only yesterday we were enemies in the sphere of foreign relations. Today, however, the situation is changed and we are enemies no longer. The art of politics in the sphere of foreign relations does not consist in increasing the number of enemies for one's country. On the contrary, the art of politics in this sphere is to reduce the number of such enemies and to make the enemies of yesterday into good neighbors maintaining peaceable relations with one another.

History has shown the enmity and wars between our country and Germany have been to the detriment of our countries, not to their benefit. Russia and Germany suffered most of all countries in the war of 1914-1918. Therefore the interests of the people of the Soviet Union and Germany do not lie in mutual enmity. On the contrary the peoples of the Soviet Union and Germany stand in need of peaceable relations. The Soviet-German non-aggression pact puts an end to the enmity between Germany and the U.S.S.R. and this is in the interests of both countries.

The fact that our outlooks and political systems differ must not and cannot be an obstacle to the establishment of good political relations between the two states, just as like differences are no impediment to the good political relations which the U.S.S.R. maintains with other non-Soviet, capitalist countries. Only the enemies of Germany and the U.S.S.R. can strive to create and foment enmity between the peoples of these countries. We have always stood for amity between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Germany, for the growth and development of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the German people.

The chief importance of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact lies in the fact that the two largest states in Europe have agreed to put an end to enmity between them, to eliminate the menace of war and to live at peace with one another, making narrower thereby the zone of possible military conflicts in Europe. Even if military conflicts in Europe should prove unavoidable, the scope of hostilities will now be restricted. Only the instigators of a general European war can be displeased by this state of affairs, those who under the mask of pacifism would like to ignite a general conflagration in Europe.

The Soviet-German pact has been the object of numerous attacks in the English, French and American press. Conspicuous in these efforts are certain "socialist" newspapers, diligent servitors of "their" national capitalism, servitors of gentlemen who pay them decently. It is clear that real truth cannot be expected from gentry of this calibre.

Attempts are being made to spread the fiction that the signing of the Soviet-German pact disrupted negotiations with England and France for a mutual assistance pact. This lie has already been nailed in the interview given by Voroshilov. In reality, as you know the very reverse is true. The Soviet Union signed the non-aggression pact with Germany, for one thing, in view of the fact that negotiations with France and England had run into insuperable differences and had ended in failure through the fault of the ruling classes of England and France.

Further, they go so far as to blame us because the Pact, if you please, contains no clause providing for its denunciation in case one of the signatories is drawn into war under conditions which might give someone external pretext to qualify this particular country as an aggressor. But they forget, for some reason, that such a clause and such

a reservation is not to be found either in the Polish-German non-aggression pact signed in 1934, and annulled by Germany in 1939 against the wishes of Poland, or in the Anglo-German declaration on non-aggression signed only a few months ago. The question arises: Why cannot the U.S.S.R. allow itself the same privilege that Poland and England allowed themselves long ago?

Finally, there are wisecracks who construe from the Pact more than is written in it. For this purpose all kinds of conjectures and hints are mooted in order to cast doubt on the Pact in one or another country. But all this merely speaks for the hopeless impotence of the enemies of the Pact who expose themselves more and more as enemies of both the Soviet Union and Germany, striving to provoke war between these countries.

In all this we find fresh corroboration of Stalin's warning that we must be particularly cautious with the warmongers who are accustomed to have other people pull their chestnuts out of the fire. We must be on our guard against those who see an advantage to themselves in bad relations between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, in enmity between them, and who do not want peace and good-neighborly relations between Germany and the Soviet Union. We can understand why this policy is being pursued by out-and-out imperialists. But we cannot ignore such facts as the special zeal with which some leaders of Socialist parties of Great Britain and France have recently distinguished themselves in this matter. And these gentlemen have really gone the whole hog, and no mistake. These people positively demand that the U.S.S.R. get itself involved in war against Germany on the side of Great Britain. Have not these rabid warmongers taken leave of their senses?

Is it really difficult for these gentlemen to understand the purpose of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, on strength of which the U.S.S.R. is not obliged to involve itself in war either on the side of Great Britain against Germany or on the side of Germany against Great Britain? Is it really difficult to understand that the U.S.S.R. is pursuing, and will continue to pursue, its own independent policy, based on the interests of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and only their interests?

If these gentlemen have such an uncontrollable desire to fight, let them do their own fighting without the Soviet Union. We would see what fighting stuff they are made of.

In our eyes, in the eyes of the entire Soviet people, these are just as much the enemies of peace as all the other instigators of war in Europe. Only those who desire a grand new slaughter, a new holocaust of nations, only they want to set the Soviet Union and Germany at loggerheads; they are the only people who want to destroy the incipient restoration of good-neighborly relations between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Germany.

The Soviet Union signed the pact with Germany fully assured that peace between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Germany is in the interests of all peoples, in the interests of universal peace. Every sincere supporter of peace will realize the truth of this.

This pact corresponds to the fundamental interests of the working people of the Soviet Union and cannot weaken our vigilance in the defense of these interests. This pact is backed by firm confidence in our real forces, in their complete preparedness to meet any aggression against the U.S.S.R.

This pact (like the unsuccessful Anglo-Franco-Soviet negotiations) proves that no important questions of international relations, and questions regarding Eastern Europe even less, can be settled without the active participation of the Soviet Union; that any attempts to shut out the Soviet Union and decide such questions behind its back are doomed to failure.

The Soviet-German non-aggression pact spells a new turn in the development of Europe, a turn towards the improvement in the relations between the two largest states of Europe. This pact not only eliminates the menace of war with Germany, it narrows the zone of possible hostilities in Europe and serves thereby the cause of universal peace; it must open to us new possibilities for increasing our strength, for further consolidation of our positions, for a further growth of the influence of the Soviet Union on international developments.

There is no need to dwell here on the separate clauses of the pact. The Council of Peoples' Commissars has reason to hope that the pact will meet with your approval as a document of cardinal importance to the U.S.S.R. The Council of People's Commissars submits the Soviet-German non-aggression pact to the Supreme Soviet and proposes that it be ratified.

SOVIET-GERMAN NON-AGGRESSION PACT

Tass Statement

Moscow, August 23, 1939—On August 23rd at 3:30 P.M., the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., Molotov, and the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ribbentrop, held a first conversation regarding the conclusion of a non-aggression pact. The conversation, which lasted about three hours, was attended by Stalin and the German Ambassador Schulenburg. After a recess the conversation was resumed at 10:00 P.M. and ended by the signing of a non-aggression pact, the text of which is as follows:

The Government of the U.S.S.R. and the Government of Germany, led by a desire to consolidate the cause of peace between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, and proceeding from the basic provisions of the treaty on neutrality concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Germany in April, 1926, arrived at the following agreement:

ARTICLE I—The two contracting parties undertake to refrain from any violence, from any aggressive action and any attack against each other, either individually or jointly with other powers.

ARTICLE II—In the event that either of the contracting parties should be subjected to military action on the part of a third power, the other contracting party will not lend that power support in any form.

ARTICLE III—The governments of the two contracting parties will in the future maintain contact for consultation in order to inform each other on matters affecting their common interests.

ARTICLE IV—Neither of the contracting parties will participate in any grouping of powers which either directly or indirectly is aimed against the other contracting party.

ARTICLE V—In the event of disputes or conflicts arising between the contracting parties on matters of one or another kind, the two parties will solve these disputes or conflicts exclusively in a peaceful way through an amicable exchange of views or, in case of need, by setting up commissions for the settlement of the conflict.

ARTICLE VI—The present pact is concluded for a term of ten years with the provision that, unless one of the contracting parties denounces it one year before the expiration of this term, the term of the validity of the pact will be considered automatically prolonged for the next five years.

ARTICLE VII—The present pact is subject to ratification within the shortest possible space of time. The exchange of the instruments of ratification shall take place in Berlin.

The pact comes into effect as soon as it is signed.

Done in Moscow in two originals in the German and Russian languages on August 23, 1939, signed on the authorization of the Government of the U.S.S.R., by Molotov;

For the Government of Germany, by Ribbentrop.



ON THE FISHERIES AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE USSR AND JAPAN

PROTOCOL

Whereas the term of the Fisheries Convention between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan, signed on Jan. 23, 1928, and extended by protocols signed respectively on May 25, 1936, Dec. 28 of the same year, and Dec. 29, 1937, expired on Dec. 31, 1938, and

Whereas a new convention was not concluded prior to Dec. 31, 1938:

The Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan hereby agree that the Fisheries Convention between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan, as well as all the documents appended thereto, signed Jan. 23, 1928, remain in force until Dec. 31, 1939.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed the present Protocol.

Done in the city of Moscow in two copies on April 2, 1939, which corresponds to the second day of the fourth month of the 14th year of Siowa.

Signed: M. Litvinov

Signed: S. Togo

EXCHANGE OF NOTES

Note of M. Litvinov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs,
To Mr. Togo, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary of Japan to the USSR

Moscow, April 2, 1939

Mr. Ambassador:

I have the honor to confirm that during the negotiations for the conclusion of a Protocol for leaving in force the Fisheries Convention between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan, signed this day, an agreement was reached between us to the effect that with the deletion of Article 8 of Protocol A attached to the said Fisheries Convention, 40 areas regarding which the Soviet Government notified the Japanese Government on Nov. 28, 1938, with the exception of three areas which the Soviet Government subsequently withdrew from the list, i.e., 37 areas, will be excluded from the 1939 auctions.

I take this opportunity, Mr. Ambassador, to renew the assurances of my high esteem.

M. Litvinov

(An analogous note was addressed by Mr. Togo, the Japanese Ambassador, to People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs Litvinov.)

Note of M. Litvinov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs,
To Mr. Togo, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary of Japan to the USSR

Moscow, April 2, 1939

Mr. Ambassador:

In connection with the signing today of the Protocol on leaving in force the Fisheries Convention between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Japan, signed on Jan. 23, 1928, and the documents appended thereto, signed on the same day, I have the honor to bring the following to your attention:

1. Those fishing areas which are put up for auction in 1939 and which as a result of these auctions will be auctioned to Japanese subjects, will be leased to them for a period of five years under the previous terms.

2. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agrees to renew on the previous terms until Dec. 31, 1939, the validity of the special agreements signed on Nov. 3, 1928, for the exploitation by Japanese subjects of canneries Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 39, 42, and the fishing areas, Nos. 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 708, 742, 743, 757, 758, 766, 767, 775, 776, 782, 829, 830, 837, 838, 839, 842, 847, 848, 854, 855, 857, 858, 860, 861, 866, 867, 975, 980, 981, 984, 985 and 986, attached to them, together with the documents and subsequent supplementary agreements relating to these pacts.

3. Soviet state industry is granted a catch of up to five million poods of fish in the year 1939.

4. Fishing areas Nos. 833, 834, and 835, not formerly exploited by the Japanese, will be added to those put up for auction.

5. According to advices received, Soviet fishing organizations, to whom areas Nos. 35, 36, 367, 368, 369 and 737, as well as areas Nos. 372, 373, 805 and 806 formerly exploited by the Japanese, were auctioned at the auctions held on March 15 of the current year, are prepared to relinquish all 10 areas to Japanese fishing entrepreneurs at the prices bid by the Soviet organizations at the auction.

6. In exchange for Area No. 445, now exploited by Japanese fishing entrepreneurs, the lease for which expires in 1941, the Japanese fishing entrepreneurs will be given Area No. 370 for the same period without auction.

At the same time, in reply to your inquiry with regard to the valuation of the fishing areas to be auctioned, set forth in Paragraph 1 of the present note, I have the honor to inform you that, according to information I have received, Dalryba has no intention of raising the said valuation this year by more than 10% for each area in the district.

I take the opportunity to renew the assurances of my high esteem.

M. Litvinov

(In his note of reply the Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Togo, repeated the contents of the above note word for word and stated that he had taken note of it.)

COUNCIL OF PEOPLES COMMISSARS OF THE USSR
(As of Aug. 1)

President: Molotov, Viacheslav Mikhailovich

Vice Presidents: Bulganin, Nikolai Aleksandrovich
Voznesenski, Nikolai Alekseevich
Zemliachka, Rozalia Samoilovna
Vyshinski, Andrei Yanvarevich
Mikoian, Anastas Ivanovich

President of Administration of State Bank: Bulganin, Nikolai Aleksandrovich

Chairman of Gosplan: Voznesenski, Nikolai Alekseevich

Chairman of Committee on Higher Education: Kaftanov, S. V.

Chairman of Committee on Art: Khrapchenko, M. B. (Acting Chairman)

President of Commission of Soviet Control: Zemliachka, Rozalia Samoilovna

Commissars:

Agricultural Stock: Skrynnikov, Semen Emelianovich
Agriculture: Benediktov, Ivan Aleksandrovich
Armaments: Vannikov, Boris Lvovich
Aviation Industry: Kaganovich, Mikhail Moiseevich
Building Materials Industry: Sosnin, Leonid Antonovich
Chemical Industry: Denisov, Mikhail Fedorovich
Communications: Peresypkin, Ivan Terentevich
Construction: Ginzberg, Semen Zakharovich
Defense: Voroshilov, Klimenti Efremovich
Electric Stations & Electrical Industry: Pervukhin, Mikhail Georgevich
Ferrous Metallurgy: Merkulov, Fedor Aleksandrovich
Finance: Zverev, Arsenii Grigorevich
Fish Industry: Zhemchuzhina, Polina Semenovna
Food Industry: Zotov, Vasilii Petrovich
Foreign Affairs: Molotov, Viacheslav Mikhailovich
Foreign Trade: Mikoian, Anastas Ivanovich
Fuel Industry: Kaganovich, Lazar Moiseevich
Health: Boldyrev, Mikhail Fedorovich
Heavy Machine Building: Malyshev, Viacheslav Aleksandrovich

Intermediate Machine Building: Likhachev, Ivan Alekseevich
 Internal Affairs: Beria, Lavrentia Pavlovich
 Justice: Rychkov, Nikolai Mikhailovich
 Light Industry: Lukin, Sergei Georgevich
 Meat and Dairy Industry: Smirnov, Pavel Vasilevich
 Munitions: Sergeev, Ivan Pavlovich
 Navy: Kuznetsov, Nikolai Gerasimovich
 Non-ferrous Metallurgy: Samokhvalov, Aleksandr Ivanovich
 Ocean Fleet (Merchant Marine): Dukelsky, Semen Semenovich
 Railroads: Kaganovich, Lazar Moiseevich
 River Fleet: Shashkov, Zosim Alekseevich
 Ship Building: Tevosian, Ivan Tevadosovich
 State Grain and Livestock Farms: Lobanov, Pavel Pavlovich
 Textile Industry: Kosygin, Aleksei Nikolaevich
 Timber Industry: Antselovich, Naum Markovich



Preliminary Returns of Census of January 17, 1939

TWENTY LARGEST CITIES OF THE USSR

<i>City</i>	<i>Dec. 17, 1926</i>	<i>Jan. 17, 1939</i>	<i>1939 in % of 1926</i>
1. Moscow	2,029,425	4,137,018	203.9
2. Leningrad	1,690,065	3,191,304	188.8
3. Kiev	513,637	846,293	164.8
4. Kharkov	417,342	833,432	199.7
5. Baku	453,333	809,347	178.5
6. Gorky	222,356	644,116	289.7
7. Odessa	420,862	604,223	143.6
8. Tashkent	323,613	585,005	180.8
9. Tbilisi	294,044	519,175	176.6
10. Rostov on Don	308,103	510,253	165.6
11. Dnepropetrovsk	236,717	500,662	211.5
12. Stalino	174,230	462,395	265.4
13. Stalingrad	151,490	445,476	294.1
14. Sverdlovsk	140,300	425,544	303.3
15. Novosibirsk	120,128	405,589	337.6
16. Kazan	179,023	401,665	224.4
17. Kuibyshev	175,636	390,267	222.2
18. Saratov	219,547	375,860	171.2
19. Voronezh	121,612	326,836	268.7
20. Yaroslavl	114,277	298,065	260.8

Union Republics	DECEMBER 17, 1926			JANUARY 17, 1939		
	Urban Pop.	Rural Pop.	Total	Urban Pop.	Rural Pop.	Total
R.S.F.S.R.	16,785,189	76,672,807	93,457,996	36,658,008	72,620,606	109,278,614
Ukraine SSR.	5,373,553	23,669,381	29,042,934	11,195,620	19,764,601	30,960,221
White Russia SSR.	847,830	4,135,410	4,983,240	1,372,522	4,195,454	5,567,976
Azerbaijdzhan SSR.	649,557	1,664,187	2,313,744	1,160,723	2,049,004	3,209,727
Georgia SSR.	594,221	2,083,012	2,677,233	1,066,560	2,475,729	3,542,289
Armenia SSR.	167,098	714,192	881,290	366,416	915,183	1,281,599
Turkmenia SSR.	136,982	861,172	998,154	416,376	837,609	1,253,985
Uzbekistan SSR.	1,012,274	3,553,158	4,565,432	1,445,064	4,837,382	6,282,446
Tadzhikistan SSR.	106,003	926,213	1,032,216	251,882	1,233,209	1,485,091
Kazakhstan SSR.	519,074	5,554,905	6,073,979	1,706,150	4,439,787	6,145,937
Kirgizia SSR.	122,333	879,364	1,001,697	270,587	1,188,714	1,459,301
USSR	26,314,114	120,713,801	147,027,915	55,909,908	114,557,278	170,467,186
1. Census of Jan. 17, 1939	81,664,981	88,802,205	170,467,186	55,909,908	114,557,278	32.8% 67.2%
2. Census of Dec. 17, 1926	71,043,352	75,984,563	147,027,915	26,314,114	120,713,801	17.9% 82.1%
3. 1939 population in % of 1926 population	115.0	116.9	115.9	212.5	94.9	— — —

NEWS CHRONOLOGY

Newspapers are named primarily for convenient reference, although the same items may appear in other newspapers. The date given is the date on which the event occurred, while the number in parentheses following the name of the newspaper indicates the date of the paper in which the report appeared.

*The texts of decrees, treaties, etc., referred to in the items marked with an asterisk are available in full at the office of the American Russian Institute.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Administration

MARCH

- 9—It is announced that on January 1, 1939, there were 6 billion rubles in the savings accounts.—*Izvestia* (9)
- 13—New regulations are issued governing admissions to Higher Educational Institutions.—*Izvestia* (13)
- 20—The agricultural plan for 1939 is published.—*Sobranie Postanovlenii i Rasporiazhenii* (20)*
- 21—The final theses for the third Five-Year Plan, as adopted at the XVIII Congress of the Communist Party, are published.—*Pravda* (21)

APRIL

- 3—New regulations are issued governing requirements for "aspirants" to higher degrees.—*Pravda* (3)
- 10—Regulations are issued governing admission to correspondence courses in Higher Educational Institutions.—*Izvestia* (10)
 - The Commissariat of Water Transport is divided into the Commissariats of the Merchant Marine and of the River Fleet.—*Pravda* (10)
- 27—The session of the Supreme Court of the USSR is opened in Moscow.—*Pravda* (27)

MAY

- 3—Viacheslav Molotov, President of the Council of People's Commissars, is named Foreign Commissar to replace Maxim Litvinov, relieved of his post at his own request.—*New York Times* (4)
- 4—The Soviet Government abolishes censorship of outgoing press messages.—*New York Herald Tribune* (5)
- 25—The Third Session of the Supreme Council opens with discussion of the 1939 budget.—*Pravda* (26)
- 28—An order is issued for measures to protect the land of the collective farms.—*Pravda* (28)*
- 29—An order is issued on preparation for the harvest and for deliveries of food products.—*Pravda* (29)*
- 31—The Third Session of the Supreme Council closes.—*Pravda* (June 1)
 - The Supreme Council establishes an All-Union Commissariat of Construction.—*Pravda* (June 1)

JUNE

- 3—The 1939 Budget, totalling 155,448 million rubles, as adopted by the Third Session of the Supreme Soviet, is published.—*Pravda* (3)* (See *Bulletin on the Soviet Union*, July 15)

- A new service is established by the savings banks under which accounts deposited for a minimum of 6 months will draw 5 per cent interest instead of the usual 3 per cent interest.—*Izvestia* (3)
- 11—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council renames the Poset Bay District of the Maritime Province of the Soviet Far East "Khasan District" in honor of the Red Army forces which drove out the Japanese at Lake Khasan (Changkufeng) last summer.—*Daily Worker* (12)
- 21—A decree is issued on surveying the land in individual holdings.—*Pravda* (21)*

JULY

- 9—A decree is issued regulating the further development of cattle breeding on collective farms.—*Daily Worker* (10)
- 29—The new Supreme Court of the Soviet Union is chosen. Twenty-nine of the seventy-five members are women.—*New York Times* (30)

Art & Theatre

MARCH

- 27—An Art Council is formed under the Committee on Art Affairs.—*Sovetskoe Iskusstvo* (27)

APRIL

- 2—The premiere of the revised version of Glinka's opera, "Ivan Susanin," is attended by Stalin and other government leaders.—*New York Times* (4)

MAY

- 25—The 10-day festival of Kirgiz art opens in Moscow.—*Pravda* (26)
- 27—A new organization for artists and sculptors is established.—*Sovetskoe Iskusstvo* (27)

JUNE

- 8—At the close of the 10-day festival of Kirgiz art, the leading Kirgiz theatres and actors are decorated by the government.—*Pravda* (8)
- 13—An All-Union Conference of Theatre directors meets in Moscow.—*Pravda* (13)
- 18—The third anniversary of the death of Maxim Gorky is observed widely throughout the Soviet Union in memorial meetings.—*Daily Worker* (20)

JULY

- 10—A ten day music festival reviewing Soviet music opens current musical season in Moscow.—*Daily Worker* (10)

Aviation

APRIL

- 9—The Aerostat USSR-VR55 completes a record-breaking flight.—*Izvestia* (9)
- 6—The glider school at Koktebele is closed.—*Izvestia* (6)
- 14—Plans for aviation competitions during 1939 are announced.—*Pravda* (14)
- 27—Kokkinaki and Gordienko take off for the Moscow-New York flight.—*Pravda* (28)
- 28—Kokkinaki and Gordienko land on Miscou Island south of Hudson Bay, completing first flight linking the USSR with North America by the Great Circle Route.—*Daily Worker* (29)
- 30—Two planes reach Kokkinaki and Gordienko at Miscou Island, N.B. and arrangements are made to fly the aviators to New York.—*New York Times* (30)

MAY

- 8—Valentina Grizodubova, leading Soviet woman flyer, is named chief of the international airlines division of the Soviet civil air fleet.—*New York Herald Tribune* (9)
- 11—Captain Polina Osipenko and Brigade Commander Anatole Serov die in an air crash.—*New York Herald Tribune* (12)
- 16—A. Kondratyeva breaks 17 records in a 500 kilometre balloon flight.—*Daily Worker* (17)

JUNE

- 11—The Soviet Government awards the Order of Lenin and the Medal for Courage and 20,000 rubles each to Major Gordienko and Brigadier General Kokkinaki for their flight from Moscow to North America.—*New York Times* (12)

JULY

- 5—It is reported that, on July 1, Olga Klepikova broke the women's record for point-to-point glider flights in a 232-mile flight from Tushima to Morshansk.—*Daily Worker* (6)

Communist Party

MARCH

- 10-21—The XVIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is held in Moscow.—*Pravda* (11 ff). (The text of the most important speeches made at the Congress are available in Russian and abridged versions of the speeches of Stalin, Molotov, and Voroshilov in English in the Institute office.)
- 27—The revised rules of the Communist Party, as adopted by the XVIII Congress, are published.—*Pravda* (27) (See *American Quarterly on the Soviet Union*, April, 1939)

APRIL

- 7-13—The VIII Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Leninist Union of Youth meets in Moscow.—*Pravda* (21)

Defense

APRIL

- 27—Regulations are issued governing extension courses in military academies.—*Pravda* (27)

MAY

- 4—The Black Sea Fleet returns to Sevastopol after spring manoeuvres in the Black Sea.—*New York Times* (5)
- 5—An order is issued on the organization of the Young Communist League in the Red Army.—*Krasnaia Zvezda* (5)*
- 7—Term of active service in Red Navy is extended from four to five years by order of Supreme Soviet.—*Pravda* (17)
- 17—Soviet Baltic Fleet completes manoeuvres.—*New York Herald Tribune* (18)
- 23—A decree is issued establishing July 24th as "Navy Day."—*Pravda* (23)

JULY

- 24—Navy Day is celebrated throughout the Soviet Union. The Red Navy is reported to be first rate and Admiral N. G. Kuznetsov declares Soviet Union has more submarines than any other country, more than Japan and Germany together.—*New York Herald Tribune* (26)

Trade Unions

APRIL

22-28—The VIII Plenum of the Central Council of Trade Unions meets in Moscow.—*Pravda* (23 ff)

MAY

20—24,000,000 trade unionists in the Soviet Union start election of trade union leaders.—*Daily Worker* (21)

JUNE

11—An order for the further development of trade union work is issued by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.—*Pravda* (11)*

18—Regulations for the conduct of trade union elections are published.—*Pravda* (18)*

Science

MARCH

1—Otto Y. Schmidt is elected Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.—*Daily Worker* (2)

APRIL

4—A Slavonic Section is organized in the Institute of History.—*Izvestia* (4)

28—It is announced that representatives of the Soviet Union will attend the International Cancer Congress to be held in the United States in September, 1939.—*Izvestia* (28)

JULY

4—*Izvestia* reports the construction of an electrical disease meter to be used in the early diagnosis of cancer and other diseases.—*New York Times* (5)

7—Announcement is made of the discovery by a young Soviet scientist of the skeleton of a Neanderthal child of about eight or nine years of age in a cave in a high cliff in Central Asia.—*New York Times* (8)

Miscellaneous

MARCH

8—International Women's Day is celebrated.—*Pravda* (8)

28—The first copper is produced at the Monchegorsk metal combinat.—*Izvestia* (28)

APRIL

1—The first Soviet bismuth is produced.—*Industria* (1)

6—An order is issued to increase the output of coal in the sub-Moscow coal basin.—*Pravda* (6)

9—Moscow's churches were crowded with worshippers for the Easter midnight service.—*New York Times* (10)

18—A report on industrial production in the first quarter of 1939 is issued.—*Pravda* (18)*

21—Ivan Gubkin, Vice-President of Soviet Union's Academy of Sciences, dies.—*New York Times* (22)

MAY

1—50,000 troops and 1,000,000 civilians march in Moscow May Day parade.—*New York Herald Tribune* (2)

10—The *Journal de Moscou* ceases publication.—*New York Herald Tribune* (11)

- 11—Yaroslavsky estimates 10 per cent of Moscow's inhabitants are still religious.—*New York Herald Tribune* (12)
- 28—Moscow-Khabarovsk Telegraph and Telephone line is brought into operation.—*Pravda* (28)

JUNE

- 2—The principal results of the 1939 Census are published, showing a total population of 170,467,186.—*Pravda* (2) (See p. 138)

JULY

- 6—A new Soviet oil field in the Romny and Poltava region may make possible a motorized Ukrainian border army without the long haul of oil from the Caucasus.—*New York Times* (6)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Europe

MARCH

- 1—A joint Polish-Italian communiqué is issued, "reaffirming that order and justice are two essentials of Italian and Polish policies." This is interpreted as Poland's substitute for signing the Anti-Comintern agreement.—*New York Herald Tribune* (2)
- 4—Announcement is made that the Soviet Union formally withdraws from the Non-Intervention Committee as of March 1.—*Krasnaia Zvezda* (4)
- 15—In a speech before British industrialists, Ivan Maisky, Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain, states the issue of war and peace "hinges on British-Soviet relations."—*New York Herald Tribune* (16)
- 18—The Czechoslovakian Consul in Moscow resigns his post.—*Pravda* (18)
- The Norwegian Government decorates several Soviet seamen for their rescue of a Norwegian crew.—*Pravda* (18)
- In an exchange of notes with the German Ambassador in Moscow, Commissar Litvinov informs the German government that "the Soviet Government cannot recognize the incorporation of Czechia in the German Reich, as well as of Slovakia, in one or another form, as legitimate and corresponding to the generally recognized standards of international law and justice or to the principle of self-determination of nations."—*Pravda* (20)*
- 21—The Soviet government announces that it has proposed to Great Britain a conference between France, Great Britain, Poland, Rumania, Turkey, and the Soviet Union to discuss the situation following Germany's absorption of Czechoslovakia. Great Britain is said to have rejected this proposal as "premature."—*New York Herald Tribune* (22)
- 22—TASS issues an official denial of the reports that Poland and Rumania have appealed to the Soviet Union for protection against aggression.—*Pravda* (22)
- 28—Conversations are held between R. S. Hudson, Secretary of the British Department of Overseas Trade, and Mikoian, Commissar of Foreign Trade.—*Izvestia* (28)* (See *Bulletin on the Soviet Union*, April 1, 1939)

APRIL

- 7—It is officially disclosed that Franco signed the Anti-Comintern Pact for Nationalist Spain on March 27, 1939.—*New York Herald Tribune* (8)
- 8—"Russian aid is vital to democracies," says Pierre Cot, France's former Air Minister, emphasizing the necessity for definite military agreements with the Soviet Union.—*New York Herald Tribune* (9)
- 11—Lord Halifax, British Foreign Secretary, confers with Soviet Ambassador Maisky on the question of the anti-aggression front.—*New York Times* (12)

- 12—"Unity with the USSR can save peace," says former British Premier Lloyd George, calling for a definite military understanding between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.—*New York Herald Tribune* (13)
- 13—C. Oumansky, Soviet Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, characterizes the guarantees offered by the democracies to smaller European countries as "ersatz" security.—*New York Times* (14)
- 14—Soviet Ambassador I. Maisky calls on Lord Halifax in London and Ambassador Sir William Seeds calls on Foreign Commissar Maxim Litvinov in Moscow to discuss an anti-aggression front including the USSR.—*New York Times* (15)
- 14—TASS officially denies that Soviet naval vessels have passed through the Bosphorus into the Mediterranean.—*Pravda* (14)
- 17—British officials are reported to have been assured that the Soviet Union would send fighting planes and war material to Poland and Rumania if their independence is threatened.—*New York Herald Tribune* (18)
- 18—Former President of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Eduard Benes, declares that the Soviet Union was adequately prepared for war at the time of the Munich crisis and was ready to fulfill its pledge of military assistance unconditionally, even if the other Powers failed to do so.—*New York Herald Tribune* (19)
- 20—Soviet proposals for an anti-aggression front are reported sent to British Foreign Office.—*New York Herald Tribune* (21)
 - Poland informs Great Britain that she has a "negative attitude" toward permitting Soviet troops or planes to march or fly over Polish territory.—*New York Herald Tribune* (21)
- 21—The British Government is reported to have accepted the Soviet proposals as a "basis for negotiations."—*New York Herald Tribune* (22)
- 24—I. Maisky leaves Moscow for London after reporting to the Soviet Government on the British reception of Russian proposals. Vladimir Potemkin, Vice Commissar for Foreign Affairs, leaves for Turkey on a special mission.—*New York Times* (25)
- 26—Neville Chamberlain refuses to give information on progress of the Anglo-Soviet negotiations in the British House of Commons.—*New York Times* (27)
- 27—Ambassador Maisky says: "Russia's position is clear. We are going to assist Europe in case of aggression."—*New York Herald Tribune* (28)
 - The Polish Nationalist Party publishes a resolution advocating Poland's closer collaboration with the Soviet Union.—*New York Times* (28)
 - Ivan Maisky, Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain, confers with Georges Bonnet, French Foreign Minister, and Jacob Suritz, Soviet Ambassador to Paris, on his way back to London from Moscow.—*Daily Worker* (28)
- 29—Maisky calls at the British Foreign Office. It is reported that he offers on behalf of the USSR a military alliance with guarantees against aggression in both Europe and the Far East.—*New York Times* (30)

MAY

- 1—Vladimir Potemkin, Soviet Vice Commissar of Foreign Affairs, visits Turkish President Ismet Inonu. It is pointed out that Turkey and the Soviet Union are bound by treaties of neutrality and cooperation and by a protocol forbidding political agreements with bordering states without mutual cooperation.—*New York Times* (1)
- 2—Neville Chamberlain again refuses information to the British House of Commons on the progress of Anglo-Soviet relations.—*New York Times* (3)

- 3—Neville Chamberlain announces to House of Commons that British Government is ready to consider an exchange of non-aggression pledges with Germany.—*New York Times* (4)
 - The Gallup poll finds 92 per cent of British voters in favor of a Soviet alliance.—*New York Herald Tribune* (4)
 - The German Government offers non-aggression pacts to Norway, Sweden, Finland, Estonia and Latvia.—*New York Times* (4)
- 4—Latvia accepts a non-aggression pact with Germany.—*New York Times* (5)
- 5—Great Britain informs the Soviet Union that their proposal for a direct military alliance with Britain and France is "unacceptable."—*Daily Worker* (6)
- 7—V. Potemkin, Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, interviews King Boris of Bulgaria and Premier Kiosseivanov on his way back to Moscow from Turkey.—*New York Times* (8)
 - Germany and Italy announce their decision to conclude a political and military treaty.—*New York Herald Tribune* (8)
- 8—British Ambassador Sir William Seeds confers with Foreign Commissar Molotov.—*New York Times* (9)
 - V. Potemkin confers with G. Gafencu, Rumanian Foreign Minister.—*New York Times* (9)
 - N. Sharonov is transferred from Athens to Warsaw to serve as Soviet Envoy there, after the post has been vacant for an interval of two years.—*New York Times* (9)
 - The British Government offers mediation in the dispute over Danzig.—*New York Herald Tribune* (9)
 - Pope Pius XII invites the Foreign Ministers of Germany, Britain, France, Italy and Poland to confer on the international crisis.—*New York Times* (9)
- 9—V. Potemkin arrives in Warsaw.—*New York Times* (10)
 - A Soviet Communiqué is published characterizing British proposals as "one-sided," and outlining the proposals.—*New York Times* (10)
 - Poland announces "complete normalisation of Polish-Soviet relations."—*New York Herald Tribune* (10)
- 11—The League of Nations Council agrees to the USSR's request for postponement of its May 15th meeting until May 22, permitting further Anglo-Soviet negotiations.—*New York Herald Tribune* (12)
 - Izvestia* publishes an editorial giving the Soviet estimate of the significance of the German-Italian military alliance, and again accusing Britain of asking a "one-sided" agreement.—*New York Times* (12)
- 13—A provisional defensive agreement covering "any act of aggression leading to war in the Mediterranean" is announced between Turkey and Great Britain.—*New York Times* (14)
- 17—I. Maisky, Soviet Ambassador to London, characterizes British proposals as "inadequate."—*New York Times* (18)
 - It is reported that Britain and France will offer the Soviet Union a guarantee of support in event of aggression.—*New York Times* (18)
- 21—I. Maisky and Lord Halifax confer at Geneva where both are attending the League of Nations Council meeting.—*New York Times* (22)
- 22—It is reported that an agreement for an Anglo-French-Soviet alliance will be presented for approval to the British Cabinet.—*New York Herald Tribune* (23)
 - Italy and Germany sign a ten-year alliance in Berlin.—*New York Times* (23)

- 24—TASS, official Soviet news agency, reports that the Finnish government has asked Soviet cooperation at the meeting of the League of Nations Council for approval of a plan to fortify the Aland Islands.—*Pravda* (24)
—It is announced that the British Cabinet agrees in principle to a mutual assistance pact with France and the Soviet Union against further aggression in Europe.—*New York Times* (25)
- 25—The Soviet Government seeks assurances that the fortification of the Aland Islands by Sweden and Finland will not be used against her.—*New York Times* (26)
- 26—It is reported from London that Soviet Commissar of Defense Voroshilov has been invited to attend British army manoeuvres this summer. At the same time, the British submit the draft of the mutual assistance peace-front pact.—*New York Times* (27)
- 27—No decision is reached by the League of Nations Council on the question of the refortification of the Aland Islands, prior to the adjournment of the Council.—*New York Herald Tribune* (28)
- 28—TASS issues an official denial of reports in foreign papers that a Soviet-Turkish military alliance has been concluded.—*Pravda* (28)
- 29—TASS officially denies reports in the foreign press that German-Soviet trade negotiations are being carried on in Moscow.—*Pravda* (29)
- 31—Foreign Commissar Molotov makes an important speech on foreign affairs before the Supreme Council outlining Soviet requirements for the establishment of an anti-aggression pact.—*Pravda* (June 1)*

JUNE

- 1—The Presidium of the Supreme Council ratifies the Soviet-Polish Trade Agreement.—*Pravda* (4)
- 2—The Soviet Government delivers a formal reply to Great Britain and France on the latest British proposals for a three-power mutual assistance pact. The note includes Moscow's demand for a guarantee of the Baltic States.—*New York Herald Tribune* (3)
- 5—The foreign policy committee of the British Cabinet refuses to extend Britain's guarantees to the Baltic States bordering on Soviet Russia.—*New York Herald Tribune* (6)
- 6—It is reported that the Pope is trying to forestall the signing of the Anglo-French-Soviet pact by calling an international conference, excluding the USSR.—*New York Times* (7)
- 7—The German-Estonian and German-Latvian non-aggression pacts are signed.—*New York Times* (8)
- 8—Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, makes another plea to Hitler to negotiate a settlement.—*New York Herald Tribune* (9)
- 13—A *Pravda* editorial reiterates the Soviet view that the independence and security of the Baltic States of Estonia, Finland, and Latvia must be guaranteed as the only safeguard for a real peace front.—*New York Times* (14)
- 15—William Strang, Chief of the Central European Division of the British Foreign Office, arrives in Moscow for further negotiations on a mutual assistance pact.—*Pravda* (15)
- 21—TASS officially denies rumors in the foreign press that the negotiations regarding a British-French-Soviet pact are being delayed by questions regarding the guarantee of Far Eastern frontiers.—*Pravda* (21)
- 23—British Foreign Secretary Viscount Halifax and Soviet Ambassador Maisky confer in London in the effort to speed negotiations on a three-power mutual assistance pact.—*New York Times* (24)

- 29—Andrei Zhdanov, President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Council of the Union, in a signed article in *Pravda*, states that the British and French Governments have no real intention of signing a genuine anti-aggression pact with the Soviet Union.—*New York Times* (30) (See *The Bulletin on the Soviet Union*, July 15, 1939)

JULY

- 2—An official report from Whitehall in London assured immediate Anglo-French assistance to Poland in case of sudden annexation of Danzig but made no guarantees affecting "peaceful change."—*New York Times* (2)
- 3—The Netherlands objected to being included in Anglo-Soviet pact.—*New York Times* (4)
- 3—It is reported that the British and French Governments have agreed to the Soviet demand for inclusion of guarantees of the Baltic states bordering on the Soviet Union in the mutual defense agreement.—*New York Herald Tribune* (4)
- 5—It is reported that new disagreement has arisen in Anglo-Soviet parleys due to the unwillingness of the USSR to guarantee Switzerland and Netherlands which have not yet recognized the Soviet regime.—*New York Times* (5)
- Defence credits mainly for Poland, also for Rumania and Turkey are considered in London.—*New York Herald Tribune* (6)
- Anglo-Soviet negotiations are reported stalled by a Soviet demand for mutual aid treaties with Turkey and Poland, and a British guarantee to defend Poland against "indirect aggression."—*New York Herald Tribune* (6)
- 6—Representatives of the A.F. of L. at the 8th Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions oppose admission of Soviet trade unions "on any basis whatsoever."—*New York Times* (7)
- C. J. Hambro, President of Norwegian Parliament, urges fortification of the Aland Islands by Sweden and Finland as a peace precaution for all the northern countries.—*New York Herald Tribune* (7)
- 7—The International Federation of Trade Unions Congress, meeting at Zurich, votes against inviting Soviet trade unions to membership in the organization.—*New York Times* (8)
- 8—It is reported that the British and the French are no longer insistent on guarantees to the Netherlands and Switzerland as a condition for the conclusion of a three-power mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union.—*New York Herald Tribune* (9)
- 8—The Italian "Gazetta del Popolo" flirts with idea of Italian-Soviet alliance, congratulating the Soviet press for frankness and drawing comparisons between the Soviet Union and Italy.—*New York Herald Tribune* (9)
- 10—The German press warns Turkey against alignment with the western democracies.—*New York Times* (11)
- Chamberlain reports to the House of Commons that Britain would resist open aggression against Poland and support Poland in case of indirect aggression.—*New York Herald Tribune* (11)
- 11—It is reported that the French Navy Ministry has been advised that the Soviet Union will build seven submarines and two aircraft carriers during 1939.—*New York Herald Tribune* (12)
- Edouard Herriot urges immediate Anglo-Soviet agreement, based on questions of legitimate defense and omitting involved guarantees.—*New York Herald Tribune* (12)
- 13—The Finnish press is skeptical of intent of Anglo-Soviet treaties involving Finland.—*New York Times* (14)

- 16—Marshal Edward Smigly-Rydz stated "we will exhaust all methods of settling the question of Danzig peacefully; then if Germany persists in her plans for Anschluss, Poland will fight even if she fights alone and without allies."—*New York Times* (17)
- 18—British and Polish officials are unable to reach an agreement on the terms of a 5 million pound cash loan to Poland to speed its armament program.—*New York Times* (19)
- 19—French and Turkish military leaders reach agreement on air and naval co-ordination and pooling of land forces for service anywhere in the Balkans or Asia Minor from Roumania to the River Nile.—*New York Herald Tribune* (20)
- 21—Moscow radio station announces trade negotiations between the Soviet Union and Germany.—*New York Herald Tribune* (22)
- 25—The British government accedes to Moscow's request to open staff conferences between the two countries without waiting for conclusion of a formal alliance.—*New York Herald Tribune* (26)
- 29—It is reported that the Hudson-Wohlthat conversations regarding a possible British loan to Germany, as well as British concessions to Japan in China, are regarded in Moscow as further indication of British desire for appeasement.—*New York Times* (30)

FAR EAST

MARCH

- 17—Announcement is made that preliminary auctions of the Far Eastern Fisheries lots were held March 15 and further auctions will be held April 3.—*Pravda* (17)

APRIL

- 3—Announcement is made of the conclusion of a new fisheries agreement between Japan and the Soviet Union for 1939.—*Pravda* (3) (See page 134)

MAY

- 1—The Japanese Cabinet decides against converting the Anti-Comintern Pact into German-Italian-Japanese Military Pact.—*New York Herald Tribune* (2)
- 8—Japanese Foreign Minister Arita says Japan's relations with the Axis will be decided by British relations with the USSR.—*New York Times* (9)
- 18—Japan is reported to be about to sign a new Anti-Comintern agreement.—*New York Times* (19)
- 22—It is reported that Manchoukuoan guards shot down an Outer Mongolian military airplane over Manchoukuo on Saturday.—*New York Herald Tribune* (23)
- 22—The Chinese request for "sanctions" against Japan is not adopted at meeting of the League of Nations Council.—*Daily Worker* (23)

JUNE

- 25—Announcement is made of the conclusion of a Soviet-Chinese Trade Agreement.—*Pravda* (25)
- 26—An official TASS dispatch describes the fighting which has been taking place intermittently on the Mongol-Manchoukuoan border near Lake Buir.—*Pravda* (26) *
- 28—A TASS dispatch reports that Japanese-Manchoukuoan bombers, protected by fighting planes, invaded Outer Mongolia.—*New York Times* (29)

JULY

- 5—TASS dispatch reports heavy fighting for three days on the Manchoukuoan-Outer Mongolian border with considerable losses on both sides.—*New York Times* (6)

- 10—The Soviet Ambassador to China, Luganets-Orelsky and his wife are killed in an automobile accident in Georgia where they were on vacation.—*New York Herald Tribune* (11)
- 11—Outer Mongolia celebrated its fifteenth anniversary as a nation while hostilities continued on the Mongol-Manchukuoan borders.—*New York Herald Tribune* (11)
 - Soviet Union warns Japan against aggression in Mongolia, reminding Japan of the Soviet-Mongolia mutual assistance pact.—*Daily Worker* (12)
- 12—The Soviet Union celebrates the 18th anniversary of the Mongolian Revolution and the 15th anniversary of the establishment of the Mongolian People's Republic.—*Daily Worker* (13)
- 15—The Japanese army reports that Soviet planes raided Halunarshan, Japanese military base and terminus of the newly completed railway from Harbin to Hailar.—*New York Times* (16)
- 16—Diplomatic protests with threat of retaliation from Japan follow third Soviet air raid over the main railway from Harbin to Hailar.—*New York Times* (17)
- 21—Japanese warships assemble around Sakhalin to back Japan's demands in the dispute over coal and oil concessions.—*New York Herald Tribune* (22)
- 24—The Soviet Union rejects the Japanese protest regarding Japanese oil and coal concessionaires in Northern Sakhalin. The Soviet Union claims Japanese have violated regulations in not paying rent on concessions or fulfilling housing construction for workers.—*Daily Worker* (25)

UNITED STATES

MARCH

- 4—Laurence A. Steinhardt, U.S. Ambassador to Peru since 1937, is named Ambassador to the USSR.—*New York Times* (5)

APRIL

- 11—The U.S. Court of Appeals rules (4-3) that funds of the Moscow Fire Insurance Company now on deposit in the Bank of New York and Trust Company cannot be taken over by the United States but are subject to distribution to the stockholders and creditors.—*New York Times* (12)
- 15—Alexander C. Kirk, American Chargé d'Affaires at Moscow, is transferred to Berlin.—*New York Herald Tribune* (16)
- 17—Kalinin sends a telegram to President Roosevelt expressing approval of his message to Hitler and Mussolini.—*Pravda* (17)
- 22—President Roosevelt acknowledges Kalinin's message.—*Pravda* (22)

MAY

- 10—Constantin Oumansky is named Soviet Ambassador to the United States to succeed A. Troyanovsky.—*New York Herald Tribune* (11)
- 17—Soviet Pavilion at World's Fair is declared open by Ambassador C. Oumansky.—*New York Times* (18)
- 23—A report is issued showing that U.S. exports to the USSR in 1938 totalled 69.7 million dollars, a 50 per cent increase over 1937.—*New York Times* (23) (See *Bulletin on the Soviet Union*, July 30)

JUNE

- 10—Mrs. Ruth Rubens, involved in the Rubens-Robinson passport fraud case, is released from prison after serving an 18-month sentence for entering the Soviet Union illegally.—*New York Times* (10)
- 11—The Soviet Arctic Pavilion of the New York World's Fair is officially opened.—*New York Times* (12)

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